

Ethical Espresso?

Exploring the extent to which the European Union supports the Fair Trade coffee industry and the potential for an EU Fair Trade coffee policy

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Abstract

Coffee is consumed daily by many citizens of the European Union (EU) and plays an important cultural role in bringing people together for social interactions. However, as consumption of this beverage continues to grow, a key issue for the global coffee industry is sustainable development, particularly in the wake of climate change. Furthermore, almost all coffee is produced in developing countries, and the increasing economic powers of international coffee corporations has highlighted the vulnerability of coffee growers, through low wages, poor working conditions and little opportunity for business development. The EU has worked to increasingly incorporate sustainable development into its policies, alongside other European values such as democracy and respect for human rights, as laid out in the Treaty of Lisbon. The concept of Fair Trade has been identified as a key way for the EU to support the sustainable development of the coffee industry; as a third-party sustainability certification which upholds rigorous standards in all three areas of sustainable development: social, environmental and economic. Strong support of Fair Trade has already been demonstrated by EU consumers in their purchasing behaviour, with EU citizens representing the largest market of Fair Trade consumers in the world. Using a discourse analysis of policy documents from the European Parliament (EP) and the European Commission (EC), this thesis examines the extent to which these two decision-making institutions of the EU support the Fair Trade coffee industry. Through applying the theoretical frameworks of Manners' Normative Power Europe and Damro's Market Power Europe, there is evidence of strong discrepancy between the EP and the EC's political discourses regarding the Fair Trade coffee industry. This analysis forms the basis of a recommendation that the EU create a Fair Trade policy in order to address the need for greater support of the sustainable development of the global coffee industry, through a common EU Fair Trade coffee policy.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

CCCC	Common Code for the Coffee Community
IGRISRS	International Global Reporting Initiative's Sustainability Reporting Standards
EEAS	European External Action Service
EC	European Commission
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
GPP	Green Public Procurement
MPE	Market Power Europe
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPE	Normative Power Europe
PGI	Protected Geographical Indicators
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
TEU	Treaty on European Union
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
VOCSI	Voluntary Coffee Standard Index

Chapter 1. Introduction

Coffee is a staple beverage in many diets around the world, with around 2.25 billion cups consumed every day (Watts, 2016, p. 1). In 2015, 2.6 million tonnes of coffee were consumed in the European Union (EU) alone (European Coffee Federation, 2016, p. 4). In Europe, coffee is not merely just a hot beverage, but part of a wider coffee culture, around which citizens often centre their social meetings. Historically, coffee became an integral part of Western European culture in the 17th and 18th centuries as coffee houses became the social spaces to meet and discuss politics (Jolliffe, 2010). Today, in many European cultures ‘meeting for a coffee’, is the act of catching up with one another and discussing personal, local, and global news and politics; in German, these meetings even have their own noun, “Kaffeeklatsch” (Kloiber, 2017, p. 10).

However, as coffee consumption continues to rise globally, a key issue is sustainability. Sustainability has become an increasingly used word with varying meanings. For the purposes of this thesis, the broad definition of the World Commission on Environment and Development, is used. This states that sustainability is development activity that “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (1987, p. 39).¹

Sustainability is a challenge for the global coffee industry in a number of ways, but predominantly through three avenues: environmental sustainability in the wake of climate change (Watts, 2016); social sustainability, focusing on human rights among coffee farmers (Kolk, 2013) (Levy, et al., 2016) and economic sustainability ensuring steady and sustainable growth of the industry (Dietz, et al., 2018).

In the EU, sustainability has become an increasingly important aspect of common European values, alongside human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality and rule of law. These are laid out in the Treaty of Lisbon and the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights (European Union, 2018). As Europe does not produce any coffee itself, it is totally reliant on imports, largely from

¹ The definition of sustainability will be discussed further in the Key Terms and Concepts section of this chapter.

developing countries. These imported products come under EU trade policy which is an exclusive EU competence, rather than an area where individual Member States are able to legislate. Imported coffee beans are cheap, labour-intensive products and are a low value raw material -- green coffee beans must be roasted and ground before consumption. This process of roasting is where the value is added in the coffee supply chain, and is usually carried out once coffee beans have been imported into a country, such as an EU Member State, as they have a relatively short shelf life once roasted (Schwaner-Albright, 2008). Oxfam have highlighted that due to the low-value of green coffee beans at the time of export, coffee producers have little power in the trading relationship and are at the mercy of multinational coffee organisations who use their market power to further lower the prices paid to producers (Oxfam New Zealand, 2017). As the prices of consumer goods, such as coffee, become increasingly competitive, producers in developing countries are suffering the consequences of cheaper market prices leading to reduced wages, poor working conditions and little opportunity for business growth or development. However, in the last decade the availability of sustainably produced and ethical products, particularly Fair Trade coffee, has grown significantly. This development of the Fair Trade coffee industry provides an opportunity for consumers to address the social, environmental and economic issues facing the global coffee industry today, with EU citizens representing the largest market of Fair Trade consumers in the world (European Parliamentary Research Service, 2014, p. 1).

Yet, despite this strong display of Fair Trade solidarity from EU consumers, the EU has no specific Fair Trade legislation (Fair Trade Advocacy Office, 2018). Amongst the biggest coffee-producing (and developing) nations in the world, such as Ethiopia, Colombia, Kenya and Papua New Guinea, there is a growing movement of coffee farms transitioning to Fair Trade models, which provide an alternative way of trading. The World Fair Trade Organisation (WFTO) describes Fair Trade as:

A trading partnership based on dialogue, transparency and respect that seeks greater equity in international trade. It contributes to sustainable development by offering better trading conditions to, and securing the rights of, marginalised producers and workers (World Fair Trade Organisation, 2018).

Fair Trade also enforces environmental regulations, which help to address issues such as pesticide mismanagement and promote organic farming practices (World Fair Trade Organisation, 2017).

The goal of this thesis is to advance the academic literature on the EU and Fair Trade, discussing the extent to which the EU as a key global power, supports the Fair Trade coffee industry. This will be done by focusing on two key EU institutions: the European Commission (EC) and the European Parliament (EP), and their respective political discourses regarding Fair Trade coffee. This will be guided by the research question: *To what extent does the European Union, represented by the European Commission and the European Parliament, support the Fair Trade coffee industry?* Through a discourse analysis of the policy documents concerning Fair Trade coffee from both institutions, this research will then develop a recommendation for how EU policy-makers should approach a common EU Fair Trade coffee policy.

Previous research has demonstrated that the EU has taken steps to investigate this alternative way of trading, for example with the EP's informal cross-party group on Fair Trade (European Parliamentary Research Service, 2014, p. 2). The research of this thesis critically evaluates measures such as this and discusses what more could be done by the EU in its capacity as an advocate for the Fair Trade coffee industry. There is a discrepancy between the EU's executive body, the EC and its legislative body, the EP, on their respective stances on the EU and Fair Trade. The EC has stated that Fair Trade, although an initiative that is worthy of support, is merely an aspect of privatised trading, whilst the EP has voiced political support for a more defined EU strategy on promoting Fair Trade (Fairtrade UK, 2015). This research is socially relevant, meaning it is relevant to communities outside of academic circles (Lehnert, et al., 2007), in its aim to contribute in a practical way to increasing sustainable development of the coffee industry, through Fair Trade policy.

The challenges facing EU policymakers and consumers are not uniquely European, therefore this research will also be relevant to other developed countries which rely on importing coffee and who have recognised the great importance of sustainable development of the coffee industry, such as New Zealand. This research is also a valuable contribution to the global

debate around sustainable food production and the future of volatile industries such as coffee.

Research in this area over the last decade has focused largely on the behaviour and shopping habits of EU consumers in regards to Fair Trade coffee (Akaichi, et al., 2016) (Bissinger & Leufkens, 2017) (Cailleba & Casteran, 2010) (Carrero, et al., 2016) (Lange, et al., 2015) (Sepúlveda, et al., 2016). Much of this research focuses on how a Fair Trade, or other sustainability certification, affects EU consumers' willingness to purchase a product (this previous academic literature will be discussed in detail in a Literature Review in Chapter Two). However, little research has been done on what the EU has done to advance the Fair Trade coffee industry as a union and the gatekeeper of the world's largest market of Fair Trade consumers. Much of the existing literature only discusses the actions of consumers in individual EU member states. The Fair Trade coffee market is increasingly growing and an analysis of the EU's role in this sustainable development will be highly significant, both for those working in EU policy, but also for present and future consumers of coffee the world over. As there is no current research specifically on this topic, this research aims to fill this gap, thus giving it subject novelty.

This research will also have theoretical novelty, in its complimentary assessment of the EU as a Fair Trade actor using two theoretical frameworks: Normative Power Europe (NPE) and Market Power Europe (MPE), which will be laid out in Chapter Three. NPE as a theoretical framework positions the EU as a projector to the rest of the world of its ideologies and values (Manners, 2002). The EP's actions in voicing its support for further Fair Trade legislation in the EU are to be explained using NPE. MPE as a theoretical framework analyses the EU as the world's most powerful economic bloc, which actively engages in international affairs through its economic actions (Damro, 2012). From this perspective, MPE explains the EC's stance on Fair Trade as a private element of trade and one that it should not interfere with.

Following the literature review in Chapter Two, Chapter Three will discuss the two theoretical frameworks used in this research, NPE and MPE, and Chapter Four will focus on the methodologies used in this research. To assess the EP and the EC's complex positions on Fair

Trade, a discourse analysis of policy documents will be conducted in Chapter Five, with a discussion of these findings and final conclusions made in Chapter Six.

1.1 Theoretical Overview and Research Question

Two theoretical frameworks are used in this research to understand the differing political discourses of the EP and the EC, both of which are concerned with the EU as a global power in international relations and trade. NPE as a theoretical framework positions the EU as an exporter to the rest of the world of its values (Manners, 2002). In this research NPE is used to explain the discourse regarding Fair Trade coffee produced by the EP in its policy documents. MPE as a theoretical framework assumes the EU as a global economic power due to the externalisation of its internal market-related policies and regulatory measures (Damro, 2012). In this research MPE is used to explain the discourse regarding Fair Trade coffee produced by the EC in its policy documents. The use of these two theoretical frameworks is appropriate given the unique nature of the Fair Trade concept, which advocates for a normative values-based trading scheme. Dimensions of both NPE and MPE can be found in the Fair Trade concept; the emphasis placed on sustainable development and respect for human rights are two of Manners' norms of the NPE framework, whilst the underlying value of trade and building strong trading relationships echoes arguments of MPE. This suggests a marrying of elements of these two theoretical frameworks and this research seeks to analyse how these two co-existent frameworks operate in the context of Fair Trade political discourse in the EU, highlighting where they complement one another, and where they are conflicting.

This thesis is guided by the research question: *To what extent does the European Union, represented by the European Commission and the European Parliament, support the Fair Trade coffee industry?* In order to explore the answers to this question thoroughly, a further four sub-questions were developed:

1. How have EU consumers demonstrated support for the Fair Trade coffee industry?

2. How have the European Commission and European Parliament addressed Fair Trade coffee through public procurement?

3. To what extent does Normative Power Europe explain the European Parliament's political discourse regarding Fair Trade coffee thus far?

4. To what extent does Market Power Europe explain the European Commission's political discourse regarding Fair Trade coffee thus far?

1.2 Research Design and Methodology

This thesis analyses the political discourse regarding the Fair Trade coffee industry of the EC and the EP, through a particular area of discourse analysis: policy document analysis. The policy documents were all available online which enabled this research to be conducted from New Zealand, despite its European focus. This access made the researcher's geographical distance irrelevant.

Policy documents were selected for discourse analysis through using the EUR-Lex search engine, which provides free access to EU policy documents. The appropriate key policy documents were selected through using two searches: *"Fair Trade" fairtrade* and *"Fair Trade" WFTO*. This is because the term 'Fair Trade' is commonly used throughout the EU to generally refer to trade which is done fairly, between Member States as well as externally of the EU, as opposed to the definition used in this research of Fair Trade, of:

a trading partnership based on dialogue, transparency and respect that seeks greater equity in international trade. It contributes to sustainable development by offering better trading conditions to, and securing the rights of, marginalised producers and workers (World Fair Trade Organisation, 2018).

Therefore, conducting a search for "Fair Trade" in EUR-Lex produces thousands of policy documents, the majority of which would not be relevant to this research. Given the time limitations of this research, the search terms were extended to include 'Fairtrade' and

‘WFTO’. These are the two sustainability standards used to certify that Fair Trade standards are met in coffee production, and thus ensure that the policy documents which are analysed in this research are relevant, contributing to the research’s validity.

Furthermore, EUR-Lex results can be filtered by author and date. As this research is concerned only with policy documents from the EC and the EP, published after the signing of the Treaty of Lisbon in December 2007, this function was used to remove irrelevant results.

1.3 Significance of the Treaty of Lisbon

The EU’s most recent treaty – The Treaty of Lisbon, which was signed on 13th December 2007 – is a significant policy document to this research as it brought about several important changes. These include changes to the organisational powers of the EU, enhancing the power of the EP, a legal EU personality, as well as amending earlier EU treaties. The discussion below highlights these changes and how they affect Fair Trade in a post-Lisbon context.

Organisational Powers

The Treaty of Lisbon for the first time clarified the organisational powers of the EU, and identified three distinct areas of governmental competences: “exclusive competence, where the Union alone can legislate, and Member States only implement; shared competence, where the Member States can legislate and adopt legally binding measures if the Union has not done so; and supporting competence, where the EU adopts measures to support or complement Member States’ policies” (European Parliament, 2018, p. 2).

These changes in organisational power opened up the possibility for the EU to promote Fair Trade, as trade and international agreements are policy areas where the EU has exclusive competence, whereas development cooperation and humanitarian aid, which are both policy areas interlinked with the concept of Fair Trade, are shared competences (European Commission, 2019). The implications of these changes on the Fair Trade coffee industry are that the EU can now take a Union-wide stance on advancing Fair Trade products through

legislation. This would support an EU-wide and legally binding Fair Trade policy under the EU's exclusive competence in this area.

Enhanced Parliamentary Power

The Treaty of Lisbon changed the functioning of the EP; it is now made up of representatives of EU citizens, rather than representatives from individual Member States, and its legislative powers have been enhanced (European Parliament, 2018, p. 3). Under the Treaty of Lisbon, co-decision became the official Ordinary Legislative Procedure for 85 different policy areas (European Parliament, 2017). This gives the EP, representing the citizens of the EU, equal say with the EU Council, representing the governments of the Member States, when it comes to passing new legislations in these policy areas. The EC submits proposals for new legislations to both the EP and the Council, who both review the first reading in parallel; however, it is the EP who are first to vote, by a simple majority, either amending the EC's proposal or adopting it without amendments. The Council can either then accept the EP's position, in which case the new law is adopted and applied in all EU member states, or the Council may request a second reading, if they take a different position to that of the EP.

At the second reading, each of the co-legislators has three months to adopt its position, upon which the EP will vote by an absolute majority, to either reject or amend the Council's first-reading position. A conciliation procedure may take place if the Council cannot accept all the amendments adopted by parliament at second reading. The two co-legislators will aim to reach an agreement, called a joint text, which they must both confirm (European Parliament, 2017).

This has enabled the EP to play a greater role in European decision-making (Mathieu & Weinblum, 2013, p. 187), as well as undertake an important role of scrutiny on EU policies, especially when it comes to international trade (Mendonça, 2018, p. 1). Given that the EP has voiced the greatest support for Fair Trade out of all EU institutions, the enhanced legislative power enabled by the Treaty of Lisbon could greatly increase the chance of an EU Fair Trade policy. This more visible role, position the EP as a key EU decision-maker can be explained with Manners' NPE theory (2002), which positions the EU as a projector to the rest of the

world of its normative values, many of which align with the values of the Fair Trade concept, as discussed in Chapter Three.

Legal Personality

The Treaty gives the EU full legal personality, allowing the Union to sign international treaties or join an international organisation on behalf of all Member States. For example, the EU operates as a single actor at the World Trade Organisation (WTO), a big focus of which is to enable developing countries, who make up two thirds of the WTO's members, to use trade to advance their economic development in a sustainable way (Mendonça, 2018). Most coffee-producing nations are also members of the WTO, and benefit from this more efficient trading system where they are able to negotiate trade agreements with the EU as a whole, rather than each individual Member State.

Amending Earlier Treaties

The Treaty of Lisbon amended two of the EU's earlier treaties: the Treaty on European Union (TEU) and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (European Parliament, 2018, p. 1). This amendment has allowed the EU to further promote some of the values and objectives upon which it was founded, such as Article 3.5 of the TEU, which described the EU's commitment to upholding its values of "sustainable development of the earth" and "free and fair trade" (Official Journal of the European Union, 2012, p. 17) in its relations with the wider world. For the Fair Trade coffee industry, these historical foundations of sustainable development and Fair Trade in the EU are important, as they indicate a long-term commitment to this way of trading by the EU.

The changes brought about by the Treaty of Lisbon are significant in the context of the EU's support of the Fair Trade coffee industry. In particular, the changes to the distribution of power within the EU as well as the decision-making process, are highly important as they have widened the scope for the possibility of a Fair Trade policy (Martens & Orbie, 2018).

1.4 Delimitations

Whilst the area of research has been defined in the Introduction, delimitations will provide further boundaries of the research topic.

Longitudinal

This research will assess the political discourse regarding Fair Trade of the EP and the EC, through analysis of EU policy documents published after the 13th December 2007, when the Treaty of Lisbon was signed by Member States. This is because the Treaty made several significant changes to the institutional set-up of the EU, most notably through the increased legislative powers given to the EP and that the EU was granted full legal personality. The EU is now able to sign international treaties or join an international organisation, whilst its member states can only sign and ratify international agreements which align with those of the EU. These changes are highly significant to the EU's stance on Fair Trade. Under the Treaty, the EU now has the power to enact a Fair Trade legislation, should it wish to do so. This legislation would be binding on all EU member states.

European Parliament and European Commission

This research will be assessing the political discourses regarding Fair Trade of two EU institutions: the EP and the EC, not individual member states or consumers within the EU. Although these are valid areas for research, it would be outside the scope of this research to include them.

Fair Trade Coffee

This research has a specific focus on Fair Trade coffee, rather than all Fair Trade products sold in the EU. This is for several reasons. Coffee makes up for the biggest sales of Fair Trade products in the EU market. In 2011, coffee accounted for 59% of Fair Trade sales in the EU, far ahead of the next most popular Fair Trade commodity, bananas, at 15% (European Parliamentary Research Service, 2014). Moreover, from August 2018 to January 2019, the EU imported more than three times the amount of green coffee beans than the USA (International Coffee Organisation, 2019) consuming around 3.1 million tonnes of green

coffee, and were the biggest consumers of Fair Trade coffee globally (European Coffee Federation, 2016).

Furthermore, coffee is a hugely important element of the culture in many European nations, especially in Western and Central Europe – the majority of these nations are EU member states. From the espresso shots taken standing at the bar in Italy, to the importance of coffee in Danish ‘Hygge’, coffee is not merely a staple in many diets, but an important anchor of numerous social gatherings. Coffee has also been selected as a focus, as it would be outside the scope of this research to provide an in-depth assessment of the numerous different Fair Trade products available in the EU. Therefore, it can be argued that the Fair Trade coffee market is the most important, and worthy of study, when it comes to the EU.

1.5 Key Terms and Concepts

This research utilises numerous different terms, phrases and concepts. These will be laid out and defined in this section.

Fair Trade and Fairtrade

Perhaps the most important clarification to make is around the term ‘Fair Trade’. Fairness is a key concept within many societies and is often intertwined with other normative values such as knowing what is deemed to be right from wrong, justice and peace (Suranovic, 2002, p. 283). Due to this intersection of normative values, there is no one definition of fairness; however, when it comes to international trade, there appears to be more common consensus on what fair trade means. According to Gansemans et al (2017) Fair Trade is a mutual respect between importers and exporters for basic labour rights and compliance with environmental standards. Fairtrade Australia and New Zealand, highlight more specifically that Fair Trade is an advocacy of improved trading relationships between small-scale farmer organisations in developing countries and developed importing countries ensuring that workplaces meet internationally agreed social, economic and environmental standards (2016).

It is important here to note that variances in spelling, and thus meaning, of the term 'Fair Trade'. In this research 'Fair Trade' (two words, capitalised) refers to the concept itself and the worldwide movement to support this way of trading. It also refers to products which meet certain criteria to be certified as 'Fair Trade' by a third party such as the World Fair Trade Organisation (WFTO). Fairtrade (one word) refers to the global organisation, Fairtrade International, and can be used when describing any aspect of its activities such as Fairtrade farms and producer networks, certified Fairtrade products, National Fairtrade organisations such as Fairtrade Australia and New Zealand and FLOCERT, the certifying body of Fairtrade and its certification process (FLOCERT, 2018).

Sustainable Development

Sustainability has become somewhat of a buzz word in recent years, most notably with the introduction in 2015 of the United Nations' (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In the context of Fair Trade, it is appropriate to use the definition laid out by the World Commission on Environment and Development (1987, p. 39) and has been expanded upon by the UN, which states that Sustainable Development is "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs... For sustainable development to be achieved, it is crucial to harmonize three core elements: economic growth, social inclusion and environmental protection." (United Nations, 2018). This definition is rather ambiguous in specifically defining what sustainable development is; however, this reflects the complex and wide-reaching concept of sustainability, and is therefore appropriate to use in the context of Fair Trade, a broad concept itself.

Developing Countries

This refers to countries which have been identified as being in the process of developing and commonly receive development aid from developed countries or organisations such as the EU. Developing Countries are largely located in the Southern Hemisphere and are where the majority of the world's coffee bean supply is sourced from (Cerasa & Buscaglia, 2017, p. 398). This term is used in this research over others with similar definitions such as 'Global South' or 'Third World Countries', as it is employed by organisations associated with the Fair Trade movement such as the WFTO, the European External Action Service (EEAS), numerous non-governmental organisations (NGOs), as well as academic literature on the coffee industry.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

2.1 Overview

Existing research in the field of Fair Trade coffee and the EU focuses on several key areas, with some gaps which will be addressed through this thesis. This literature review covers the timeframe from 2007 to 2018, the same timeframe as the focus of this thesis -- on the EU's political discourse regarding the Fair Trade coffee industry in the wake of the signing of the Treaty of Lisbon.

Scholars in the field of EU Fair Trade research have largely focused on EU consumers (Akaichi, et al., 2016) (Bissinger & Leufkens, 2017) (Cailleba & Casteran, 2010) (Carrero, et al., 2016) (Cerasa & Buscaglia, 2017) (Lange, et al., 2015) (Marconi, et al., 2017) (Raynolds, 2009) (Schollenberg, 2012) (Sepúlveda, et al., 2016). The first section of this review will address this consumer focus of how a sustainability certification², such as Fair Trade, affects an EU consumers' willingness to purchase a product. This focus on consumers is highly relevant to this dissertation -- as a demonstrated willingness from EU consumers to support the Fair Trade coffee industry, encourages the EU to work towards a more developed Fair Trade policy.

The second section of this literature review examines how some scholars have also conducted comparisons of different sustainability certifications within the coffee industry, such as Fair Trade, FLOCERT, Rainforest Alliance, UTZ and Organic (Akaichi, et al., 2016) (Barjolle, et al., 2017) (Dietz, et al., 2018) (Kolk, 2013). This literature highlights a key issue in the sustainable coffee industry for consumers: the numerous different certifications, and their corresponding standards, are often very confusing (Dietz, et al., 2018) (Kolk, 2013) (Marconi, et al., 2017) (Raynolds, 2009). This confusion has led scholars to emphasise other issues in the sustainable

² Sustainability certifications are a way for companies to demonstrate their continued commitment to sustainability through a third-party verification process. This communicates that they have met certain sustainability standards and the certifications are usually displayed on product packaging with a small logo, such as Fairtrade International's blue and green figure. Although sustainable development has three key pillars: social, environmental and economic, most sustainability certifications address just one pillar, such as Rainforest Alliance which focuses on environmental sustainability. Fair Trade is one of the few concepts which addresses all three pillars of sustainable development.

development of the coffee industry, such as the need for third party or governmental regulation of sustainability standards (Barjolle, et al., 2017) (Bissinger & Leufkens, 2017) (Carrero, et al., 2016) (Dietz, et al., 2018) (Fisher, 2012) (Fisher & Corbalán, 2013) (Kolk, 2013) (Lange, et al., 2015) (Levy, et al., 2016) (Schebesta, 2018) (Watts, 2016). This will be discussed in the third section. Despite these issues, almost all scholars agree that there is great need for further sustainability efforts in the global coffee industry, in all three elements of sustainable development: social, environmental and economic (Barjolle, et al., 2017) (Bissinger & Leufkens, 2017) (Carrero, et al., 2016) (Dietz, et al., 2018) (Kolk, 2013) (Lange, et al., 2015) (Levy, et al., 2016) (Marconi, et al., 2017) (Schebesta, 2018) (Watts, 2016). The different elements of sustainable development will be outlined in the final section of this review. This is relevant to this research as Fair Trade aims to address all three pillars of sustainable development, and it is therefore necessary to understand how they operate in the context of the coffee industry.

This literature review assesses the research of other scholars and the operation of the Fair Trade concept within the EU; however, it does not address the theoretical frameworks which help to explain this political discourse. The relevant theoretical frameworks used in this research will be discussed in Chapter Three.

2.2 EU Consumers and Fair Trade Coffee

As the global Fair Trade movement has its roots in Western Europe, it was hypothesised that there would continue to be strong support for Fair Trade products by EU consumers (Akaichi, et al., 2016) (Bissinger & Leufkens, 2017) (Carrero, et al., 2016). As noted above, scholarly research around Fair Trade and the EU is at its most extensive when it comes to consumer behaviour and purchasing patterns. Akaichi et al (2016) compared Fair Trade certified products with low-carbon-footprint and organic food labels in France, Scotland and the Netherlands, asking whether certifications competed with one another for consumer preference. They found that respondents in these countries valued a Fair Trade certification over organic or low-carbon-footprint certifications, with over 75% of all respondents saying

that they trusted Fair Trade and would continue to purchase certified products, so long as they did not exceed a certain price threshold.

Similarly, Bissinger & Leufkens (2017) analysed German consumers and their willingness to pay for Fair Trade coffee and tea and their purchase motivations. Cailleba & Casteran (2010) and Lange et al. (2015) both looked at the impact of Fair Trade certified coffee sold in France and French consumers' willingness-to-pay was affected by various factors. Both studies found that there was an information deficit among French consumers of the standards covered by a Fair Trade certification, and like Akaichi et al's research, the price of Fair Trade coffee was the most significant factor in a consumer's purchasing decision.

Carrero et al (2016) took a slightly different approach and looked at sustainable consumer profiles among Spanish consumers, finding that those who purchased Fair Trade tended to be single, mature, upper-middle class consumers. Sepúlveda et al (2016) also analysed Spanish consumers, looking at the extent to which the Spanish value Fair Trade certified coffee. They found that a Fair Trade certification was the most valued by respondents, above organic and Rainforest Alliance certifications, and its presence on a coffee product would significantly influence their purchasing decision. Collectively, this literature paints a detailed picture of the consumer support of Fair Trade, particularly Fair Trade coffee. However, it is noteworthy that most scholars focus their research on a national level, conducting their research in one EU Member State only. This thesis will contribute to the area of research of Fair Trade coffee at an EU-wide level, through addressing the institutions which represent the interests of EU consumers: the European Commission and the European Parliament.

Only Akaichi et al's (2016) work makes conclusions about EU consumers through its comparative analysis of consumers in three different Member States, finding significant consumer support of Fair Trade in France, Scotland and the Netherlands. However, it is notable that these are all long-term Member States in Western/Central Europe which suggests they share similar values. Akaichi's research would have increased in validity if it also included Member States which have joined the EU more recently and are geographically, socially and historically more distant, such as Eastern European Member States.

Only Cerasa & Buscaglia (2017) focus on the EU as a whole – through their analysis of the import prices of wholesale green coffee beans in different EU Member States, and the corresponding retail prices paid by coffee consumers. They found great variance between the import and retail prices between EU member states, which is surprising given that importing coffee comes under EU trade policy, which covers all Member States (2017, p. 397). Despite the general hypothesis in EU studies that European market integration is steadily increasing, Cerasa and Buscaglia found that importers are able to exercise arbitrage (2017, p. 398) by importing green coffee beans into the Member States with the cheapest import prices, Portugal, Greece or Slovenia, and then once roasted, sell them in the Member State with the highest retail price, in this case Austria. Thus demonstrating the volatile pricing of the coffee market. The Fair Trade approach of having an agreed upon price which does not fluctuate, can protect smallholder farmers from this market volatility. This research is useful in its inclusion of a wide array of Member States, which are geographically, and culturally, distant from one another and compliments the mono-Member State focus of some of the other EU consumer behaviour research as discussed in this chapter. It also demonstrates that despite efforts to ensure fair trading with developing countries through EU trade legislation, EU importers are not paying one common market price. This supports this research's argument for a common EU Fair Trade policy, in order to protect smallholder farmers and ensure they receive a fair price for their coffee beans throughout the season.

The Hedonic Pricing Model is a popular choice in quantitative research in the Fair Trade coffee field. This model is appropriate when it comes to Fair Trade products as it takes into account both internal factors -- for example the costs of attaining a Fair Trade certification or the extra costs incurred to meet sustainable coffee production standards, ongoing compliance monitoring and auditing -- and external factors, such as the prices of other sustainability certified coffee or average market price, that affect retail prices. Schollenberg (2012) used hedonic pricing in her analysis of Swedish Fair Trade coffee prices, as did Bissinger & Leufkens (2017) and Marconi et al (2017), as these studies too required quantitative data. However, Schollenberg highlighted that this model does not give any insight into consumer attitudes or purchasing behaviour (2012, p. 441). It is complementary therefore, to look at these hedonic pricing studies alongside the research discussed earlier in this review (Akaichi, et al., 2016) (Bissinger & Leufkens, 2017) (Cailleba & Casteran, 2010) (Carrero, et al., 2016) (Lange, et al.,

2015) which used qualitative data to identify EU consumer behaviour and attitudes. The findings from these studies which employ hedonic pricing have been complimentary to this thesis, as they use quantitative data; however, this model will not be used in this research as qualitative analysis is necessary through a discourse analysis of EC and EP policy documents regarding Fair Trade coffee.

Marconi et al (2017) highlight the importance of Fair Trade certification in their longitudinal approach, assessing the EU's Fair Trade product market over a 14 year period. Their study analysed Fair Trade certified coffee, tea and chocolate data and found that the number of Fair Trade certified products available in the EU increased year-on-year, aside from 2009 to 2010 where they remained stagnant (2017, p. 165). This indicates an overall growing support for Fair Trade certified products among EU consumers. However, this study demonstrates an important element of sustainability claims in food marketing, as it looked at all products which make Fair Trade claims, such as 'supporting Fair Trade', not just those with a Fair Trade certification from a third party organisation such as FLOCERT. Highlighting the danger of the increasing popularity of sustainability in the food industry, some companies are making uncertified sustainability claims as a marketing tool only. This is known in industry terms as 'greenwashing' and is also discussed by Reynolds (2009). This issue is explained below. This demonstrates the importance of verifiable sustainability claims on product packaging, rather than deliberately misleading sustainability claims. This supports the argument of this thesis in favour of an EU Fair Trade policy, where Fair Trade certification by third party Fair Trade organisations with clear and robust certification processes ensure that sustainability standards are being met.

2.3 The Comparison of Fair Trade and Other Sustainability Certifications

Despite being arguably the most well-recognised third-party sustainability certification today, Fair Trade/Fairtrade are now in competition with a plethora of other sustainability certifications. As there are no compulsory sustainability standards in the global coffee

industry, consumer demand has driven coffee brands in developed countries to adopt various voluntary standards (Dietz, et al., 2018) (Kolk, 2013, p. 324).

From the increased consumer interest in sustainability, four main independent sustainability standards have come about: Fairtrade (FLOCERT), Organic, Rainforest Alliance and Utz Certified (Kolk, 2013, p. 325). Kolk conducts a direct comparison of each certification and its varying standards; however, no clear conclusion is drawn as to what certification is better than the rest; each have their own strengths and weaknesses (2013). Dietz et al's (2018) Voluntary Coffee Standard Index (VOCSI), compares and ranks various Voluntary Sustainability Standards, in response to the increasing number of different certifications and the rise of greenwashing in the industry (Dietz, et al., 2018, p. 72). They score Utz certified the highest, largely because the certification has two different standards, one for bigger farms and one for smallholder farms. They critique Fairtrade International (FLOCERT); however, for its exclusive work with co-operatives rather than individual farmers; yet, it scores the highest overall when it comes to social sustainability.

The certifications of most concern are those developed by major coffee companies themselves, such as Nespresso's AAA certification and Starbucks' CAFÉ Practices Program. Dietz et al (2018) discuss how the critical standards behind these certifications that must be met are minimal, and the majority of the standards listed on the company websites are not obligatory for certification (Dietz, et al., 2018, p. 84).

This is yet again another example of greenwashing that is prevalent in the sustainable coffee industry. A critique of this article is way in which the authors have ranked the sustainability certifications. Although this ranking is commendable, as it contributes to the debate around simplifying these certifications for consumers, the authors' heavily critique Fairtrade International for limiting their certification scheme to only democratically organised cooperatives of small farmers, rather than allowing individual coffee farmers themselves to become Fairtrade certified. Out of the 14 sustainability certifications ranked by the authors, Fairtrade International places seventh, despite it being arguably the most well-rounded certification in the study, as it addresses all three key areas of sustainable development: social,

environmental and economic. Rainforest Alliance is ranked above Fairtrade International, despite its sole environmental focus and little acknowledgement of social issues.

Kolk delves into many of the complex challenges facing the sustainable coffee industry. For example, for policy-makers like the EU, choosing one certification to support over another can be problematic in a free and competitive market (2013, p. 334). However, of the four certifications Kolk discusses, Fairtrade is the only one which addresses the three pillars of sustainable development: social, environmental and economic. Whereas Organic and Rainforest Alliance are exclusively focused on environmental sustainability, Utz is more economically focused. It would have been a valuable addition to Kolk's analysis to mention that although the three pillars of sustainable development are interlinked and improvement in one area undoubtedly leads to improvement in others, it is still highly important for certifiers to set standards in all three areas, like Fair Trade does.

Akaichi et al also compare the attributes of Fair Trade and Organic certifications, as well as Low Carbon Footprint certification, in the eyes of consumers in Edinburgh, Amsterdam and Clermont-Ferrand in central France. They analysed the trade-offs made by consumers when choosing one certification over the other, and found that Fair Trade was the preferred certification amongst respondents, as this aligned with their values and concerns (2016, p. 977). This is to be expected, as all of the respondents were EU citizens, and the values of the concept of Fair Trade strongly align with normative European values. However, this Fair Trade preference was only a driving purchase decision when the price remained under a certain threshold. Once prices were over a certain amount, respondents were no longer prepared to pay a premium for a Fair Trade certification (Akaichi, et al., 2016, p. 980). This is an important finding for this thesis, as an EU Fair Trade coffee policy could help to regulate retail prices of Fair Trade coffee.

Alongside the Fair Trade concept's demonstration of many normative European values (Akaichi, et al., 2016), which will be discussed further in Chapter Three, Barjolle et al (2017) made for an interesting case when they suggest that Kenyan and Colombian green coffee beans be extended the same right to Protected Geographical Indicators (PGI's), as other EU products such as champagne or parmesan, due to the distinctive characteristics and high

quality of their coffee beans. They state that a geographical indicator certification would help to add value to the product in the eyes of EU consumers, as this certification is well recognised throughout the EU and is a mark of value and quality (2017, p. 113). Barjolle et al's research also highlights how Fair Trade coffee certifications can also be used in conjunction with another certification such as Organic or PGI's. This is a useful insight for this thesis, as a successful EU Fair Trade coffee policy could be developed to include other product attributes, such as PGIs'.

2.4 Consumer Confusion

The increasing number of certification agencies, and the great variance in their corresponding standards, has become a point of confusion for the average EU shopper. As a sustainability certification is often only indicated by a logo, with little to no other information detailing what that logo represents (Raynolds, 2009, p. 1085), it is unsurprising that this fragmentation of the sustainability market is overwhelming for ethical consumers, and this "label fatigue" (Dietz, et al., 2018, p. 72) creates even more complex purchasing decisions (Kolk, 2013) (Marconi, et al., 2017) (Raynolds, 2009).

Such fatigue highlights the need for the regulation of the sustainable coffee market, through the development of EU policies which lead to more clarity and less diversity of certifications (Kolk, 2013, p. 334), which would ease the burden on consumers who wish to make sustainable purchasing decisions. Arguably, the EU could meet this need through monitoring the sustainability certifications on products available to EU consumers and recommending those which address all three pillars of sustainable development within the coffee industry, such as Fair Trade and FLOCERT. However, this is a difficult landscape for policymakers like the EU, as it is arduous to reach a clear consensus on sustainable purchasing guidelines (Kolk, 2013, pp. 324, 334), but as EU consumers account for 30% of global coffee consumption (Kolk, 2013, p. 325), this is not an issue that can continue to be ignored. To address this issue on a supranational level, this thesis advocates for an EU Fair Trade policy which will be discussed in Chapter Six.

It is interesting to note that in Dietz et al's comparison of Voluntary Sustainability Standards, the certifications which are coffee-specific, such as the Common Code for the Coffee Community (CCCC), or Nespresso and Starbucks' self-created and enforced certifications, are scored lowest overall (2018, p. 80). This leads to the question of whether, from a consumer perspective, labels such as Fair Trade and FLOCERT, which are used across the food and beverage sector and are enforced by reputable organisations, such as Oxfam (Oxfam New Zealand, 2017), are more likely to be well-recognised and understood? Arguably making another reason for the EU to support sustainable development of the coffee industry through the Fair Trade concept -- it may help to decrease the complex purchasing decisions faced by EU consumers.

Marconi et al highlight that there is low consumer loyalty when it comes to individual sustainability certifications (2017, pp. 161-163). Put simply, many consumers who would class themselves as 'sustainable shoppers' and wish to make ethical purchasing decisions, tend to group sustainability certifications as one, with no differentiation made between the various certifications. Therefore, when it comes to purchasing decisions, price is the most decisive factor between different sustainability certified products (Marconi, et al., 2017, pp. 161-163) (Raynolds, 2009, p. 1090), for example Fair Trade certified coffee versus Rainforest Alliance certified coffee. This again demonstrates the high consumer demand for sustainability certified coffee, but the lack of information available to consumers regarding the various standards and the role the EU could play in fixing this information deficit.

2.5 The Role of the EU

Given the complexities of sustainability certification in the coffee industry, and the need for more streamlined information surrounding the different certifications and their standards at a consumer level, many scholars suggest some form of third party regulation (Barjolle, et al., 2017) (Bissinger & Leufkens, 2017) (Carrero, et al., 2016) (Dietz, et al., 2018) (Fisher, 2012) (Fisher & Corbalán, 2013) (Kolk, 2013) (Lange, et al., 2015) (Levy, et al., 2016) (Marconi, et al.,

2017) (Raynolds, 2009) (Schebesta, 2018) (Watts, 2016). This role of regulating certifications, as well as developing more comprehensive information for shoppers, should be filled by a third party, such as the State (Bissinger & Leufkens, 2017) (Dietz, et al., 2018) (Fisher, 2012) (Kolk, 2013) (Lange, et al., 2015) (Levy, et al., 2016) (Marconi, et al., 2017) (Raynolds, 2009) (Watts, 2016).

Bissinger & Leufkens argue that Europe could play an important role in leading the regulation of the sustainable coffee industry on a global scale, as the governments of coffee-producing nations are often not developed enough to regulate these certifications themselves (2017, p. 1807). However, Bissinger & Leufkens (2017) do not consider that an EU-led coffee standards regulation scheme may necessarily be welcome in coffee-producing nations. These nations are culturally very different from the EU, and prioritise different values, they may not wish to be led by the EU in regulations, but would rather work alongside it to ensure standards are being met.

This distinction of partnership, rather than an EU-led scheme, is an important one to make and would be a useful addition to this literature. The authors further argue that government regulation of sustainability certifications leads to higher trust from consumers (2017, p. 1807); Kolk supports this stance suggesting that the State should create policies which streamline sustainability certifications, creating simpler choices for consumers (2013, p. 334). However, Kolk (2013) highlights in his research that the creation of these policies and regulation of the sustainable coffee industry would be highly complicated, given it would require the government in question to work across many different organisational boundaries. This suggests that the EU would be the best European governmental organisation to take on this role, given its unique political structure and cross-organisational power, which could work in its favour when it comes to developing a sustainable coffee policy. This could be done through an EU Fair Trade policy incorporated into the EU's numerous Free Trade Agreements (FTA) with coffee-producing nations.

Although Kolk (2013) advocates for a regulatory approach to be taken through government policy, other scholars recommend a more soft power approach (Carrero, et al., 2016) (Fisher, 2012) (Schebesta, 2018). Carrero et al acknowledge the EU's desire to support sustainable

development through certifications such as Fair Trade, but also its recognition that it is not only a governmental responsibility, but one that is shared by EU consumers in the purchases they make (2016, p. 643). Fisher agrees with this stance, although she highlights the lack of coordination between different EU member states when it comes to international development aid, and instead advocates for independent member states to support sustainable development through Fair Trade (2012). She uses the example of European 'Fair Trade Nations' (2012) in her research to highlight the success of nation-specific Fair Trade support in Scotland and Wales. Although the actions of neither country's government were legally binding, the widespread support of Fair Trade resulted in increased government funding, with the National Assembly for Wales allocating £330,000 towards Fair Trade promotion (2012, p. 260). This use of soft power to promote Fair Trade, is linked to both theoretical frameworks used in this thesis: Normative Power Europe (NPE) and Market Power Europe (MPE), and is discussed further in Chapter Three.

However, Fisher does not mention that the United Kingdom (UK) has demonstrated more support of Fair Trade than almost any other Member State, and if other Member States were to follow the lead of Scotland and Wales, two UK nations, they may not be as successful in their pursuit of becoming a Fair Trade Nation. It may take more time, funding and effort to convince political elites of the benefits of becoming a Fair Trade Nation, than it did in the already pro-Fair Trade setting of the UK. This indicates that despite Fisher's claim that independent action by Member States is the best way to promote Fair Trade, an EU common policy, may still be the most effective way to change the EU's political discourse regarding Fair Trade coffee. Furthermore, as the UK is one of the greatest supporters of Fair Trade, in a post-Brexit setting it is more important than ever that the EU demonstrates support of the Fair Trade coffee industry with an EU Fair Trade policy. This area of research is worthy of greater scholarly attention once the UK officially leaves the EU.

Another area where the EU could be an advocate for sustainable development of the coffee industry is through public procurement (Fisher & Corbalán, 2013) (Schebesta, 2018). Public procurement, the process of public authorities purchasing goods or services, in the EU has traditionally been driven by budget cuts and competitive pricing (Fisher & Corbalán, 2013, p. 12) (Schebesta, 2018, pp. 316-317). As the EU increasingly embraces sustainability issues

throughout its organisation, legal issues have arisen when it comes to procurement law. Public procurers cannot privilege sustainability certified products over non-certified products as this is deemed discriminatory for business competition (Fisher & Corbalán, 2013, p. 13). However, the EU has recognised that these procurement laws can hinder the advancing of other areas of specific interest to the EU, such as “Fair and Ethical products” (Schebesta, 2018, p. 321) in the procurement of food, catering services and vending machines. This was highlighted by Schebesta in her analysis of the EU’s Green Public Procurement (GPP) Criteria, where she concludes that sustainability certifications are one of the best tools at the EU’s disposal to ensure the procurement of sustainable goods (2018, p. 326). Fisher & Corbalán suggest that the EU as an institution takes note from some of its member states who have directly referenced Fair Trade in their laws, such as France and Italy, thus giving those national Fair Trade markets greater leverage when it comes to green procurement (2013, p. 20).

Both Fisher & Corbalán (2013) and Schebesta (2018) advocate for the EU to address the legal issues which prevent the promotion of sustainability certifications in public procurement, as this will not only respond to the increased consumer demand for Fair Trade (Fisher & Corbalán, 2013, p. 13) but also change the overall EU public demand in favour of sustainably-produced goods (Schebesta, 2018, p. 316) such as Fair Trade coffee. Building upon the arguments of Fisher & Corbalán (2013) and Schebesta (2018), an EU Fair Trade coffee policy in public procurement could be a starting point for a more extensive EU Fair Trade coffee policy. This will be discussed further in Chapters Five and Six.

2.6 A Balanced Approach to Sustainable Development of the Coffee Industry

Despite the great thematic variation in the field of Fair Trade coffee research, one element where there is largely a consensus, is the need for greater measures to be taken toward sustainable development of the coffee industry (Carrero, et al., 2016) (Cerasa & Buscaglia, 2017) (Dietz, et al., 2018) (Fisher & Corbalán, 2013) (Kokako Organic Coffee, 2018) (Kolk, 2013) (Levy, et al., 2016) (Raynolds, 2009) (Schebesta, 2018) (Watts, 2016). Sustainability is not maintained through the focus on one particular element but through addressing all three

pillars of sustainable development as identified by the United Nations: economic, social and environmental (Dietz, et al., 2018) (Kokako Organic Coffee, 2018) (Levy, et al., 2016).

Schebesta highlights the role of the State in addressing all three pillars, discussing how the EU's initial GPP Criteria focused almost exclusively on environmental sustainability, and although the revised edition is extended to include other criteria, such as Fair and Ethical products, it is still largely environmentally focused (2018, p. 327). Watts also highlights the need for governmental support of sustainable coffee development, and although this is from the perspective of slowing down climate change (2016, p. 12), he emphasises how this environmental issue will have damaging repercussions for social and economic sustainability (2016, pp. 8, 12). The worrying effects of climate change on sustainable development in the coffee industry are echoed throughout this field of research (Cerasa & Buscaglia, 2017, p. 398) (Dietz, et al., 2018, p. 73) (Kokako Organic Coffee, 2018, pp. 13-16) (Kolk, 2013, p. 324).

However, voiced support for sustainable development within the coffee industry arguably needs to be followed up with action. Levy et al (2016) highlight how in many cases statements of Corporate Social Responsibility by coffee corporations are ambiguous and non-committal, and are often in response to consumer demand, rather than a real commitment to sustainable development. Here, governments and NGOs can play a pivotal role in coercing private coffee corporations to comply with the standards set by third party sustainability certifications like Fair Trade (Kolk, 2013, p. 334) (Levy, et al., 2016, p. 364). An example of this is NGO Oxfam's continued outtings of coffee corporations who support unfair trading practices, and its promotion of coffee corporations who source beans with a third party sustainability certification, namely Fair Trade (Oxfam International, 2013).

Kokako Organic Coffee, a Fairtrade coffee company based in Auckland, New Zealand, demonstrate a wide-reaching commitment to Corporate Social Responsibility in their Sustainability Report, which showcases their commitment to social, environmental and economic sustainability (2018). The report follows the International Global Reporting Initiative's Sustainability Reporting Standards (IGRISRS) (2018, p. 1), which enable comparisons to be made between different companies and could be an important tool for the EU when assessing sustainability within the coffee industry. However, despite Kokako's

commitment to sustainability, it is still a private company and the claims made in its Sustainability Report therefore need to be read from a critical perspective. The Report is self-published and despite using the IGRISRS framework, Kokako are still likely to frame themselves in the best light possible. Kokako Organic Coffee's Report (2018) highlights that the Fair Trade approach to sustainable development enforced by FLOCERT, addresses the three pillars -- social, environmental and economic -- relatively equally, rather than focusing on one element only, such as the EU's GPP Criteria (Schebesta, 2018). This greatly increases the credibility of Kokako's Corporate Social Responsibility statements, especially in comparison to the aforementioned self-created certifications of Nespresso and Starbucks, which actually certify very little (Dietz, et al., 2018), again reinforcing that Fair Trade is perhaps the most well-rounded sustainability certification in the coffee industry.

Despite the well-rounded approach to sustainable development by the Fair Trade concept, it is not without its critics (Dietz, et al., 2018) (Griffiths, 2012) (Kolk, 2013) (Levy, et al., 2016) (Raynolds, 2009). Griffiths claims that the actions of Fairtrade International are examples of Unfair Trading, as FLOCERT products tend to be sold by companies based in developed nations and thus, the majority of the profit stays in those countries, rather than going back to the growers (2012, p. 359). He claims that many consumers pay a premium for Fairtrade certified products, based on the understanding that that extra premium will be going back to the growers (Griffiths, 2012, p. 359).

If not all of the extra money does go back to the growers, this is misleading consumers and should be classed in the EU as a criminal offence of Unfair Trading under Directive 2005/29/EC on Unfair Commercial Practices (Griffiths, 2012, p. 358). However, this conclusion does not take into account that consumers may be aware of the additional costs involved in certifying a product to be Fairtrade, such as licensing agreements, meeting Fairtrade's sustainability standards and administrative and marketing costs. Griffiths goes on to state that consumers purchasing Fairtrade coffee would make far more of a difference to the lives of the growers in developing countries if they made a charitable donation, rather than purchasing Fairtrade coffee (Griffiths, 2012, p. 359). However, a charitable donation does not address the needs of the consumer, which is to purchase coffee, whereas Fairtrade coffee allows consumers to

purchase sustainably certified products, which given the increasing sales of Fairtrade coffee in the EU would indicate, is what consumers want.

2.7 Summary

The existing literature on Fair Trade coffee and the EU is diverse, yet largely focuses on the purchasing decisions and behaviours of EU consumers. The presence of a sustainability certification can increase a shopper's willingness to purchase a product; however, scholars highlighted that this willingness has at times been taken advantage of with clever sustainability marketing known as 'greenwashing'. The increase in consumer demand for sustainably-produced coffee has caused the market to become saturated with different sustainability certifications, which all have different standards. Some, such as Fair Trade and FLOCERT are recognised for addressing all three areas of sustainable development: social, environmental and economic, whilst others, such as Starbucks CAFÉ Programme and Nespresso's AAA certification, hold little obligation over the corporations. It is little wonder that the number of different certifications at the consumer level has created great consumer confusion, which leads many scholars to call for the creation of sustainability purchasing guidelines and regulation of third party certifications. This could be a role for the EU, as its unique cross-organisational structure and power, positions it as the ideal governmental body to create a common EU Fair Trade policy.

These arguments contribute to the greater theme in the literature of the need for a more sustainable coffee industry, which addresses all three elements of sustainable development. With the effects of climate change taking an increasing toll on the coffee industry, particularly through the increase of minimum growing temperatures and changing rainfall patterns (Watts, 2016, p. 4), scholars are calling for greater commitments to be made by private corporations and governments alike. Although the Fair Trade concept is not perfect, it seems to be the best way currently for the EU to support the sustainable development of the coffee industry, and safeguard this commodity for future generations.

The next chapter will discuss the theoretical frameworks used in this research: Normative Power Europe and Market Power Europe, and how they can be used to explain the political discourses regarding Fair Trade coffee of the European Parliament and the European Commission respectively.

Chapter 3. Theoretical Frameworks: Normative Power Europe and Market Power Europe

In order to build a conceptual framework for explaining the EU's political discourse regarding the Fair Trade coffee industry, it is important to understand the relevant theories of EU power. This research uses a conceptual framework as it makes use of multiple theories to build a comprehensive understanding of a phenomena (Jabareen, 2009), in this case, the political discourses of the EP and the EC regarding the Fair Trade coffee industry. The EU is a unique institution and the way in which it is viewed, both internally and externally, can be explained with many different academic theories. Some identify its presence as a non-traditional power, with Duchêne first describing the EU as a "civilian power" (1971). Other scholars built upon the idea of an EU identity outside of military might, or "soft power" (Nye, 1990), describing it as a "gentle power" (Merlini, 2002) (Orbie, 2008 , p. 2), or an "ethical power" (Aggestam, 2008). Furthermore, Chaban and Elgström discuss the uncertain positioning of the EU in the new world order, where countries with rapidly developing economies and a strong military presence such as China and Russia, are challenging the traditional Western hierarchies of global power (2014). However, two theories which may explain the identity of the EU are that of Normative Power Europe (NPE) (Manners, 2002) and Market Power Europe (MPE) (Damro, 2012).

Since its inception as the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the EU has increasingly projected its normative ideologies to the world and to its own citizens. This projection has played a central role in the formation of EU foreign policy, encouraging non-member states to take on elements of the EU's economic and political model (Poli, 2016); Ghazaryan particularly highlights this exportation of EU values which underpin all EU global governance actions (2016). This exportation of normative European ideologies is a key concept in both NPE and MPE, and both have influenced the way in which the EU has addressed the Fair Trade coffee industry.

3.1 Normative Power Europe

Normative Power Europe (NPE) as a theoretical framework shifts away from the traditional EU identity debates of military and civilian power, and positions the EU as a projector to the rest of the world of its values (Manners, 2002). Manners argues that through the many EU declarations, treaties, policies and conditions since its inception, five core norms have arisen that can be classed as EU normative values: *peace, liberty, democracy, rule of law and a respect for human rights* (2002, p. 242). He uses evidence from the Treaty of Lisbon to demonstrate how the EU has built these values into its own institutional framework, with the aim of promoting the EU's values and principles outside its borders (2008, pp. 47-48):

In its relations with the wider world, the Union shall uphold and promote its values and interests and contribute to the protection of its citizens. It shall contribute to peace, security, the sustainable development of the Earth, solidarity and mutual respect among people, free and fair trade, eradication of poverty and the protection of human rights (Official Journal of the European Union, 2012, p. 17).

Manners also suggests that four minor norms also exist within the NPE framework: *social solidarity, anti-discrimination, sustainable development and good governance* (2002, pp. 242-243). These nine concepts form the basis of the NPE's conceptual framework, alongside Manners' mechanisms of norms diffusion which he uses to explain how EU norms are projected onto external partners; however, as this research focuses more on the embodiment of NPE by EU institutions and the nine norms identified by Manners, and not the way in which these norms are received externally of the EU, these mechanisms will not be addressed in the scope of this research.

Many scholars have built upon the NPE theory, such as Poli who noted that the EU is "a 'community of values' and seeks to promote those values both inside and outside its borders" (2016, p. 1). However, NPE is not without its critics. The main rebuttal of NPE is that although much of the EU's external behaviour can be classed as normative of its values, the EU's external actions need to also be analysed as strategic, "interest-motivated behaviour" (Rosamond, 2014, p. 133). Merlingen supports this stance, claiming that EU foreign policy tends to be glorified as a force for good in world politics, whereas just like the foreign policies of other powers such as the United States or Russia, its strongest motivating force is self-

interest, which is realised through strategic calculation (2007). Other scholars critique NPE from the perspective that it lacks the tools to effectively export its values outside its borders (Vadura, 2015).

However, when it comes to the EU's political discourse regarding Fair Trade coffee, many elements of Manners' NPE theory, and its critiques, are applicable. Staeger highlights that in Africa, where a considerable amount of the world's coffee is grown, 21st century relations with the EU are dominated by Eurocentric normative values of "outdated European moral paternalism" (2016, p. 981). This notion is a useful one when assessing the Fair Trade concept as a whole, as it originated in Western Europe with the main goal of creating fair trading relationships with producers in developing countries, many of which are in Africa. However, many developing countries have varying levels of cultural and normative divergence with the EU, and it is worth noting that through Fair Trade, developing countries are encouraged to take on elements of liberal European values, of which they might not necessarily be enthusiastic recipients (Hoang, 2016) (Orbie & Khorana, 2015). A key example of this is through Free Trade Agreements between the EU and developing countries (Garcia & Masselot, 2015).

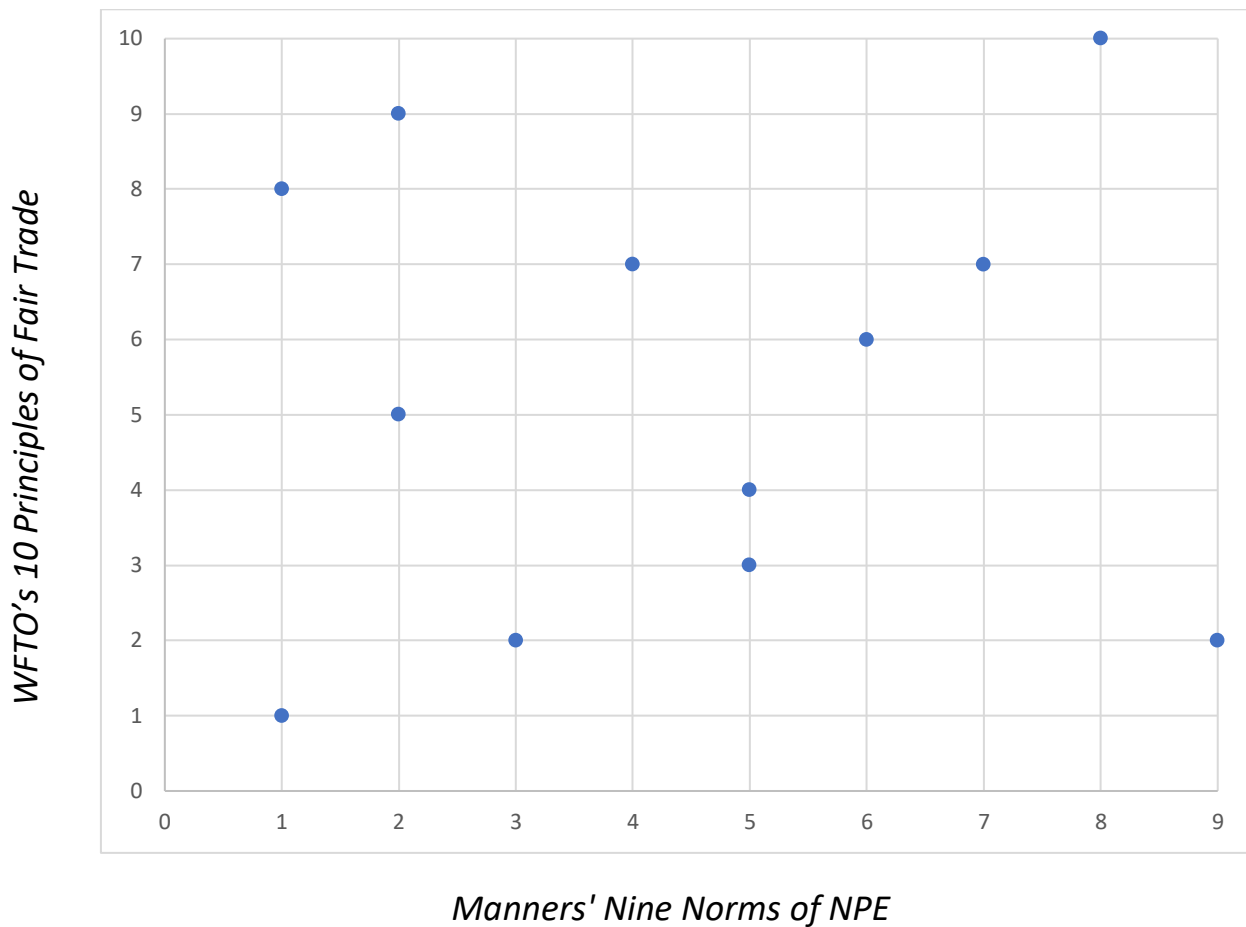
Manners highlights that he uses the term 'normative power' not to describe an ethical foreign policy, but to describe the EU's actions, values and impact in global politics which enables it to promote its normative principles (2008, p. 46). This somewhat answers the critiques of Merlingen (2007) and Rosamond (2014) who warn against conflating EU self-interest with ethical policies, and is useful when using NPE to explain the EU's political discourse regarding Fair Trade. Fair Trade as a concept highlights the importance of using trade, a primarily self-interested activity, to help grow the economies of developing countries (World Fair Trade Organisation, 2017). However, the way in which Fair Trade differs from conventional trade is in the underlying values of the concept, many of which align with the European values identified by Manners in NPE. This idea of NPE as EU policies which are based on a combination of EU values and EU self-interest is useful in this research as both elements are in favour of an EU Fair Trade policy. This will be discussed further in Chapter Six.

The World Fair Trade Organisation (WFTO), one of the two key Fair Trade organisations in the world and whose definition of Fair Trade this research is based upon, prescribes 10 Principles that Fair Trade Organisations must adhere to in their daily operations, and which are monitored by the organisation (2017), as shown below in Figure 1. In Manners' NPE framework, he identifies nine norms, made up of five core norms and four minor norms (2002, pp. 242-243). There is much cross-over between these principles and norms, which will be discussed below and further highlights the relevance of using NPE in this research. This crossover is demonstrated in Table 1. The discussion below is guided by Manners' nine norms of NPE, with the corresponding WFTO Principle/s under each heading.

Figure 1: World Fair Trade Organisation's Ten Principles of Fair Trade (World Fair Trade Organisation, 2017)



Table 1 - Convergence between Manners' NPE norms and WFTO's 10 Principles of Fair Trade



Convergence between Manners' NPE Norms and WFTO's 10 Principles of Fair Trade

1. *Peace* – Manners highlights the EU's political approach of sustaining peace through addressing the underlying causes of conflict, emphasising the importance of *development aid* and *trade* (2008, p. 48). This aligns with the WFTO's Principle One: Creating Opportunities for Economically Disadvantaged Producers, which seeks to reduce poverty among marginalised communities through the development of trade (2017). It also aligns with Principle Eight: Providing Capacity Building, which works to develop the skills and capabilities of Fair Trade producers, enabling them greater access to international markets (2017), such as the EU. WFTO Principles One and Eight are displayed in Figure 1 and their convergence with Manners' norm of Peace is displayed above in Table 1.

2. *Social Freedom* – Manners highlights that within the EU this addresses the right of EU citizens to act freely, so long as their actions do not compromise the freedom of others. Externally, Manners highlights that EU social freedom has wide-reaching implications, particularly the protection of children’s rights (2008, p. 49). This directly aligns with the WFTO’s Principle Five: Ensuring no Child Labour and Forced Labour. This principle adheres to the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child, which has also been ratified by all EU Member States and guides EU law concerning children. Furthermore, this norm also aligns with Principle Nine: Promoting Fair Trade, which advocates for raising awareness of the Fair Trade aim (2017) and is enabled through the freedom of speech, which Manners’ also highlights (2008, p. 50). WFTO Principles Five and Nine are displayed in Figure 1 and their convergence with Manners’ norm of Social Freedom is displayed above in Table 1.
3. *Consensual Democracy* – Manners underlines democratic governance in the EU through the governments of its Member States, as well as the EU polity itself, particularly through the power-sharing in the European Parliament since the signing of the Treaty of Lisbon. Externally the EU promotes the values of democracy through its development policies (2008, p. 50). Although Fair Trade does not explicitly support any political agendas, the WFTO’s Principle Two: Transparency and Accountability, mandates that the organisation follows a democratic structure of governance which states that it must be transparent in its management and commercial relations and take appropriate measures to involve producers in developing countries in the decision-making process (2017). WFTO Principle Two is displayed in Figure 1 and its convergence with Manners’ norm of Consensual Democracy is displayed above in Table 1.
4. *Associative Human Rights* – Individual and collective human rights are discussed by Manners as being interdependent upon one another and include actions such as freedom of expression and religious belief (2008, p. 51). This norm directly aligns with several of the WFTO’s principles, but most notably Principle Seven: Ensuring Good Working Conditions, which states that employees must work in environments that adhere to the International Labour Organisation’s (ILO) health and safety conventions, and they have the right to form and join trade unions. If the local government prevents them from doing so, the organisation will create ways for employees to have means of independent and free association (2017). WFTO

Principle Seven is displayed in Figure 1 and its convergence with Manners' norm of Associative Human Rights is displayed above in Table 1.

5. *Rule of Law* – Manners states that the rule of law is an essential element of NPE, as it provides a common set of rules for the EU and its external partners to follow when seeking “multilateral solutions to common problems” (2008, p. 51). This aligns with how the Fair Trade concept as a whole follows a certain set of practices, realised through Principle Three: Fair Trading Practices. This Principle ensures that producers of products under the WFTO certification are treated in accordance with the rules of the organisation, such as interest free pre-payments of 50% for goods upon request, and if orders are cancelled by buyers through no fault of the producer, adequate compensation will be guaranteed for already completed work (2017). This also aligns with Principle Four: Fair Payment, which states that remuneration must be determined according to Fair Prices, Fair Wages and Local Living Wage and workers paid accordingly. WFTO Principles Three and Four are displayed in Figure 1 and their convergence with Manners' norm of Peace is displayed above in Table 1.
6. *Anti-discrimination or Inclusive Equality* – In article 3.3 of the Treaty of Lisbon, social discrimination upon any ground is highlighted as a key area of combat for the EU (Manners, 2008, p. 52). Manners expands upon this stating that the EU looks to promote the norms of equality and anti-discrimination in Europe and externally through targeted policies which particularly focus on gender equality and ethnic minorities (2008, p. 53). This aligns with the WFTO's Principle Six: Commitment to Non-Discrimination, Gender Equity and Women's Economic Empowerment, and Freedom of Association. This Principle works to ensure that there is no discrimination at any point throughout the practice of Fair Trade, which is an important distinction to make as Fair Trade mainly supports marginalised groups. WFTO identifies this discrimination as based on “race, caste, national origin, religion, disability, gender, sexual orientation, union membership, political affiliation, HIV/AIDS status or age” (2017). WFTO Principle Six is displayed in Figure 1 and its convergence with Manners' norm of Anti-Discrimination is displayed above in Table 1.
7. *Social Solidarity* – Manners' definition of social solidarity is economically focused, broadly extending from economic growth and a social market economy to combating social exclusion

through employment; however, one area of particular interest is his highlighting of social solidarity as labour solidarity. This is through “the promotion of labour rights and protection, including core labour standards and fair trade” (2008, p. 53). This aligns with WFTO’s Principle Seven: Ensuring Good Working Conditions, which lays out minimum labour standards for workers and Principle One: Creating Opportunities for Economically Disadvantaged Producers, ensuring producers are able to move out of income insecurity and poverty to economic self-sufficiency (2017). WFTO Principles Seven and One are displayed in Figure 1 and their convergence with Manners’ norm of Social Solidarity is displayed above in Table 1.

8. *Sustainable Development* – Manners emphasises the environment in his definition of sustainable development as a NPE norm and the EU’s aim to prioritise protecting and improving the environment in its economic growth activities (2008, p. 52). This directly aligns with Principle Ten: Respect for the Environment, which guides producers in sustainable practices, promoting production techniques which minimise environmental impact, organic production, exporting products by sea rather than air and using local, raw materials from sustainably managed sources (2017). WFTO Principle Ten is displayed in Figure 1 and its convergence with Manners’ norm of Sustainable Development is displayed above in Table 1.
9. *Good Governance* – The last EU norm emphasises the participation of civil society, in order to promote openness and transparency, and the strengthening of multilateral cooperation, which Manners claims are both necessary for good governance to be maintained (Manners, 2008). This aligns with Principle Two: Transparency and Accountability, which states that the WFTO must be transparent in its governance and promote participation from its employees, members and producers throughout the supply chain (2017). WFTO Principle Two is displayed in Figure 1 and its convergence with Manners’ norm of Peace is displayed above in Table 1.

This analysis of the great crossover between Manners’ nine NPE norms and the WFTO’s 10 Principles of Fair Trade, supported by Table 1, demonstrates the great harmony between the two concepts. All of the Ten Principles of Fair Trade share homogenous components with one, or more, of Manners’ nine norms; thus, supporting the use of NPE to explain the EU’s political discourse regarding Fair Trade coffee. In this research, the close ties between the values of NPE and the Principles of Fair Trade supports the argument for an EU Fair Trade policy, as the

Fair Trade concept clearly demonstrates a commitment to the same values that the EU holds dear.

3.2 Market Power Europe

The conceptualisation of MPE assumes the EU as a global economic power due to the externalisation of its internal market-related policies and regulatory measures (Damro, 2012) (Damro, 2015). Damro's MPE theory builds upon Manners' NPE argument of considering more than just the EU's civil and military might when conceptualising identity, however; unlike Manners' abstract consideration of European values, Damro advocates for conceptualising the EU as it was in its founding days – an economic market (2012, pp. 682-683). His theory helped to fill the economic gaps in Manners' NPE argument, which did not address economic norms (Orbie & Khorana, 2015, p. 254). In this research, Damro's MPE concept is very useful in explaining the political discourse regarding Fair Trade of the market-focused EC.

Market integration has always been a foundation of the EU, beginning with the coal and steel sectors and then more broadly with the Treaty of Rome in 1957 and the Single European Act in 1986 (Damro, 2012, p. 685). Today, the EU's identity as MPE is strengthened by its economic position as "the biggest player on the global trading scene... [with] the most open market to developing countries in the world" (European Commission, 2014).

Damro uses three interrelated characteristics to further explain MPE: *material existence*, *institutional features* and *interest contestation* (2012, pp. 686-689). The EU's single market represents its *material existence*, and is perhaps the most informative element of its identity as a global economic power. In addition to its material existence, the conceptualisation of MPE also addresses its *institutional features*, from which it is able to exercise economic and social regulation through its many different bodies, such as the EC and EP. Finally, Damro looks at the *interest contestation* between various groups all looking to serve their own agendas. He explains this is an important element of MPE as interest groups such as political

parties or individual Member States may push for the externalisation of certain internal economic or social policies, which can influence how the EU is viewed as a global economic power. Damro claims that it is the intersection of these three characteristics that influence the externalisation of EU policies and informs the EU's identity as MPE (2012). This can be seen in the case of the EU's political discourse regarding Fair Trade, as the traditional big economic powers of the EU -- France, Germany and the UK -- are the Member States who have pushed the most for policies which serve the interests of Fair Trade; however, an EU Fair Trade policy can only be realised with the participation and commitment of institutional features: the EP and the EC and the material existence of the common market. These three characteristics are accepted in this research; however, they will not be individually discussed any further, as it is outside the scope of this research.

Many scholars accept Damro's theory; however, Kelstrup suggests that MPE in practice needs to address more intervening characteristics that inform MPE, such as global economic legal frameworks, administrative resources of the EU around the world and the EU's ability, or inability, to remain externally united (2015). Furthermore, ideational factors, as highlighted in NPE, are not addressed in Damro's analysis as it assumes that EU market norms are objective and not influenced by European ideologies and values (Orbie & Khorana, 2015). Damro also suggests that EU market norms are not neoliberal (2012), however, some scholars point to the increasingly liberalisation of EU trade as key examples of neoliberalism (Orbie & Khorana, 2015, p. 256) (Rosamond, 2014).

The liberal nature of the European economy is evident in the EU's numerous Free Trade Agreements and in treaties such as the Cotonou Agreement, which encouraged increasing free trade between the EU and developing countries in the Africa Caribbean Pacific (ACP) regions. Heron & Murray-Evans discuss the rise of trade liberalisation in EU-ACP relations through economic-partnership agreements (EPAs); however, they claim that MPE's assumption - that the externalisation of economic and social-related policies are what enable the EU to maintain its position as a global economic power -- is not entirely true in the case of EPAs, assigning the success of the EPAs to the harmony between EU policies and the institutional norms in the ACP countries (Heron & Murray-Evans, 2017). This suggests that the success of EPAs in ACP-EU relations is more down to the successful deployment of European

values, through NPE, than the EU's economic might as highlighted in Damro's MPE theory. This is an important consideration when addressing the EU's political discourse regarding Fair Trade coffee, as much of the world's coffee is produced in Africa, as well as in other ACP nations such as the Dominican Republic (Caribbean) and Papua New Guinea (Pacific).

MPE states that the EU is an economic power acting to best serve its single market (Damro, 2012). This idea is useful when explaining the EU's political discourse regarding Fair Trade coffee and the lack of a Fair Trade policy within EU internal or external action legislation. If the EU is looking to maximise free trade, rather than sustainable development through fair trade, then it is evident that a fair trade legislation would not be prioritised by political elites within the EU. This research uses MPE to explain the political discourse regarding Fair Trade of the EC, and will be discussed further in Chapters Five and Six.

3.3 NPE and MPE Comparisons

Both NPE and MPE theoretical frameworks are useful in explaining the EU's, as represented by the EP and the EC, political discourse regarding Fair Trade. Despite these two theories being formed as alternative explanations for the EU's clout in the global community, their individual operations are interdependent. These two concepts both position the EU as a global power, internally and externally of its borders, through its normative values and economic might. They both step away from the traditional power arguments of military or civilian power and emphasise that despite the EU's soft power, it is still recognised as a leader in global affairs. In many cases NPE and MPE are used by scholars in a complimentary fashion to explain EU political discourse. Marx et al state that through the EU's bilateral trade agreements, there is an increasingly inclusion of non-trade objectives, such as social and environmental issues (2017), which external partners must meet if they want to be granted access to the EU market. An EU Fair Trade coffee policy would be an example of this inclusion of both trade and non-trade principles, as it addresses not only fair trade between the EU and coffee-producing nations, but also the three pillars of sustainable development: social, environmental and economic, as discussed in Chapter Two. This demonstrates that through

the mechanisms of MPE - trade agreements with external partners - the EU is encouraging its partners to uptake elements of European normative values, such as sustainable development (Marx, et al., 2017) (Renckens, et al., 2017) - one of Manners' nine norms under the NPE framework (2002) and as discussed earlier in this chapter, an element of the WTO's 10 Principles of Fair Trade.

However, NPE and MPE also clash in certain elements of their theoretical frameworks. Renckens et al highlight that strategies to strengthen one power resource, such as the EU common market, could undermine the other, such as Free Trade Agreements with external countries (2017). For example, in the operation of MPE, trade barriers which aim to shield the EU economy could be seen as protectionist and against a normative value of EU foreign policy (Renckens, et al., 2017, p. 1435), such as anti-discrimination. This argument also aligns with critiques of NPE who claim that normative values can be confused with strategic policies that are motivated by EU self-interest (Merlingen, 2007) (Rosamond, 2014), which commonly include prioritising the EU common market. This suggests that both NPE and MPE can co-exist and operate simultaneously; however, one power resource is likely to undermine the other. This competition for power is very evident with the political discourses regarding Fair Trade coffee of the EP and the EC, and which are discussed further in Chapter Six.

3.4 Conclusion

Using the theoretical frameworks of Normative Power Europe and Market Power Europe, this chapter has outlined the importance of these two concepts in explaining the political discourse of the EU, as represented by the EP and the EC, regarding the Fair Trade coffee industry.

NPE stems from Manners' argument that the EU is a projector to the rest of the world of its normative values which can be identified as the five core norms of *peace, liberty, democracy, rule of law* and *a respect for human rights* (2002). Manners also identifies four minor norms: *social solidarity, anti-discrimination, sustainable development* and *good governance*. There is

much crossover between these norms and the values identified by the WFTO, in their 10 Principles of Fair Trade. Manners also describes how these norms are diffused outside of the EU through six mechanism of norm diffusion; however, as this research focuses more on the embodiment of NPE by EU institutions and the nine norms identified by Manners, and not the way in which these norms are received externally of the EU, these mechanisms will not be addressed in the scope of this research.

Critiques of NPE tend to fall into two camps: the first is that much of what could be classed as normative actions of the EU, are actually examples of strategic, self-interested behaviour. This is particularly evident in international relations and bilateral trade. The second critique of NPE questions whether the EU can really be classed as a Normative Power, as it lacks the tools to effectively export its values to external partners. It is this first critique which will be most useful in this research in assessing the EU's stance on Fair Trade and the motivations behind it. Would an EU Fair Trade coffee policy merely be a strategic policy which serves the EU's own interests, or would it be based upon an EU desire to support the sustainable development of the coffee industry? This question will be discussed further in Chapter Six.

Damro's MPE was conceptualised a decade after Manners' NPE theory and builds upon the idea of the EU as a normative power, but from an economic perspective (Damro, 2012). It positions the EU as a global economic power due to the externalisation of its internal market-related policies and regulatory measures. As NPE does not address the EU's normative economic might in its conceptualisation of power, MPE filled a conceptual gap in Manners' theory. Damro uses three interrelated characteristics to further explain MPE: *material existence*, *institutional features* and *interest contestation*. These three characteristics are accepted in this research; however, they will not be individually discussed, as it is outside the scope of this research.

Critiques of MPE highlights some potential gaps in Damro's theoretical framework; there is no acknowledgement of external economic factors such as global economic legal frameworks, or ideational factors which are highlighted in NPE, as MPE assumes that EU market norms are objective and not influenced by European ideologies and values. Damro also suggests that EU

market norms are not neoliberal; however, some scholars point to the increasingly liberalisation of EU trade as key examples of neoliberalism.

In the case of the EU, represented by the EC and the EP's, political discourse regarding the Fair Trade coffee industry, it is evident that both theoretical frameworks are in operation in the two EU institutions. The discourse from the EC indicates the prioritisation of MPE and the EU economy, through its emphasis on the continued privatisation of Fair Trade sustainability certifications, such as the WFTO and FLOCERT (European Commission, 2009). The EP on the other hand, prioritises NPE through its voiced support for an EU Fair Trade policy (Fairtrade UK, 2015) in the wake of adopting legislation which allows public bodies in the EU to require products to meet Fair Trade criteria in public procurement (European Parliamentary Research Service, 2014). It is therefore appropriate to use both the NPE and MPE theoretical frameworks to assess the EU's political discourse regarding the Fair Trade coffee industry, highlighting where they are complimentary and where there is discordance, as demonstrated in the discourse analysis in Chapter Five. Furthermore, these frameworks are complimentary to the methodology used in this research of discourse analysis, as discussed in Chapter Four.

Chapter 4. Methodology: Discourse Analysis

This chapter will explain the empirical research method used, discourse analysis, to evaluate the EU's political discourse in regard to the Fair Trade coffee industry. Idiographic reasoning is utilised in this research, through the use of two theoretical frameworks: Normative Power Europe (NPE) and Market Power Europe (MPE) which aim to explain the political discourses regarding Fair Trade, produced by the European Parliament (EP) and the European Commission (EC). This relational research has a longitudinal element as the pieces of discourse analysed range from December 2007, when the Treaty of Lisbon was signed, to December 2018.

4.1 Discourse Analysis

The human experience and the way we make sense of reality is largely shaped through discourse: written and spoken communication (Astari & Lovett, 2019, p. 4) (Barry & Proops, 1999, p. 338) (Forray & Woodilla, 2005) (Paltridge, 2012) (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Discourse analysis has been used as an academic research method since 1952, when Zellig Harris analysed how language is interpreted based on the context in which it is presented (Harris, 1952) (Paltridge, 2012, pp. 2-3). In the second half of the twentieth century, van Dijk largely developed the field of discourse analysis, demonstrating how it can be used across a broad field of academic research (van Dijk, 1990) and founding the academic journal *Discourse & Society* in 1990 which aims to highlight the socio-political elements of discourse analysis, rather than the linguistic focus of this method in the 1970's and 80's (van Dijk, 1990, p. 8).

Discourse analysis operates on the assumption that texts require context and intertextuality to make sense; discourses are inherently interlinked with one another (Astari & Lovett, 2019, p. 4) (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 4). It differs from other methods of qualitative research which focus more specifically on text, as it also addresses the contexts in which the text is found (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 5). This is important when studying social phenomena, as the

broader social context plays a key role in shaping discourse. In researching sustainable development and policy, some scholars advocate for using both qualitative and quantitative research methods within the framework of discourse analysis (Astari & Lovett, 2019, p. 4) (Barry & Proops, 1999).

However, discourse analysis as a methodology is not without its limitations. In comparison with other academic research methods, it is still relatively new and therefore is still establishing itself as a sound methodology (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 9). This can be a barrier when presenting findings in an academic context, as other scholars may be reluctant to accept the validity of a piece of research that is using a relatively young methodology. Moreover, any form of discourse analysis as performed by an individual is always going to be influenced to some extent by the author's own personal views, as it is an exercise of interpretation (Widdowson, 1995, p. 159). Modern technology has looked to overcome this level of human bias with Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS), which are used to analyse qualitative data from a neutral perspective, such as the popular academic software, NVivo (Zamawe, 2015). However, an issue with technology-based discourse analysis is that it is often performed through finding key words in a document and cannot always accurately analyse sentiments or implications that are expressed through language. It cannot always 'read between the lines' so to speak. Zamawe highlights this downfall of CAQDAS, claiming that the role of CAQDAS is as a research tool only; it cannot perform the analysis in place of a researcher (2015). Therefore, that is why in this research, the author chose to perform the discourse analysis herself, over a CAQDAS such as NVivo. This was inside the scope of this research as the data set was relatively small, as discussed below.

4.2 Document Analysis

This research is concerned with one particular element of discourse analysis: document analysis, specifically policy document analysis. The policy documents of the EP and the EC regarding Fair Trade are analysed in Chapter Five, in order to understand the political discourses of these two institutions, regarding the Fair Trade coffee industry.

Policy documents were selected for discourse analysis through using the EUR-Lex search engine, which provides free access to EU policy documents. The appropriate key policy documents were selected through using two searches: *“Fair Trade” fairtrade* and *“Fair Trade” WFTO*. This is because the term ‘Fair Trade’ is commonly used throughout the EU to generally refer to trade which is done fairly, between Member States as well as externally of the EU, as opposed to the definition used in this research of Fair Trade, of:

a trading partnership based on dialogue, transparency and respect that seeks greater equity in international trade. It contributes to sustainable development by offering better trading conditions to, and securing the rights of, marginalised producers and workers (World Fair Trade Organisation, 2018).

Therefore, conducting a search for “Fair Trade” in EUR-Lex produces thousands of policy documents, the majority of which would not be relevant to this research. Given the time limitations of this research, the search terms were extended to include ‘Fairtrade’ and ‘WFTO’. These are the two sustainability standards, representing Fairtrade International and the World Fair Trade Organisation respectively, that are used to certify that Fair Trade standards are met in coffee production. Therefore, by including these two search terms, it ensured that the policy documents which are analysed in this research are relevant, contributing to the research’s validity.

Furthermore, EUR-Lex results can be filtered by author and date. As this research is concerned with policy documents from the EC and the EP only, published after the signing of the Treaty of Lisbon in December 2007, this function was used to remove irrelevant results. Policy documents produced by the EC and the EP do not contain photographs or images, so this research’s policy document analysis was of the language used only.

This search produced seven key policy documents regarding Fair Trade coffee from the EP and the EC. These policy documents were analysed by the author using the two theoretical frameworks of NPE and MPE. A detailed analysis of the language used in the documents was performed, in order to see whether this language translated into some level of support of the Fair Trade coffee industry. This was carried out by using the split screen function on a laptop,

one side of the screen was occupied by a policy documents, whilst the other was occupied by a word document which was used to take detailed notes on the discourse regarding Fair Trade coffee presented in the policy document. This exercise was completed three times with each policy document, to ensure that no detail was overlooked. The author then went through her notes for each policy document, using the theoretical frameworks of NPE and MPE, as discussed in Chapter Three, in order to see whether either framework could explain the policy document's discourse regarding Fair Trade coffee. The results from the discourse analysis are discussed in Chapter Six.

Chapter 5. Discourse Analysis: The Political Discourses regarding the Fair Trade Coffee Industry of the European Commission and the European Parliament

Discourse Analysis was used to measure the extent to which the European Commission (EC) and the European Parliament (EP) have demonstrated support of the Fair Trade coffee industry in their policy documents. This discourse analysis was guided by this research's sub-questions:

- 1. How have EU consumers demonstrated support for the Fair Trade coffee industry?*
- 2. How have the EC and EP addressed Fair Trade coffee through public procurement?*
- 3. To what extent does Normative Power Europe explain the European Parliament's political discourse regarding Fair Trade coffee thus far?*
- 4. To what extent does Market Power Europe explain the European Commission's political discourse regarding Fair Trade coffee thus far?*

The policy documents of the EC and the EP, which have been identified as relevant to this research based on their use of key words: "'Fair Trade' fairtrade" or "'Fair Trade' WFTO", as discussed in Chapter Four, form the foundations of the EC and the EP's political discourses regarding Fair Trade coffee. Fair Trade issues discussed in these policy documents range from sustainable public procurement in EU institutions to the demonstrated support of Fair Trade coffee by EU consumers. This discourse analysis utilised both quantitative data, looking at the number of policy documents published by the EC and the EP regarding Fair Trade, as well as qualitative data, which assessed the discourses regarding Fair Trade of these two EU institutions using the theoretical frameworks of Normative Power Europe (NPE) and Market Power Europe (MPE).

It is important to note that given the many levels of the EC's organisational structure, which includes 53 different departments and executive agencies, only policy documents which come from the EC's political leadership College – the team of 28 Commissioners and the Commission President who steer the work of the EC – will be analysed. It would be beyond the scope of this research to consider the separate political discourse of individual departments. The Commissioners, one from each member state, and the Commission

President, currently Jean-Claude Juncker,³ are the key decision-makers within the EC and thus have considerable weight in the debate surrounding an EU Fair Trade policy. It is therefore arguably appropriate to limit this research to their political directives. The policy documents analysed in this discourse analysis are published under the name and logo of its respective author: the EC or the EP. Therefore, the analysed documents were easily identifiable.

Primary Sources – Policy Documents

As stated above, in order to assess the political discourse regarding the Fair Trade coffee industry, primary sources of information were used in the form of policy documents. These include legislations, communications, resolutions, guides and reports, from the EC and the EP.

Longitudinal Aspect

This research has a longitudinal element, assessing key sources of political discourse regarding Fair Trade from the EC and the EP since 13th December 2007, when the Treaty of Lisbon was signed by member states, as discussed in Chapter One. It is notable that this research found only seven policy documents regarding Fair Trade, as shown in Table 2, in relation to Fairtrade or the WFTO. This demonstrates the half-hearted approach by the EP and the EC – both institutions are evidently aware of the concept of Fair Trade, but none of these seven policy documents have committed to concrete political action.

Although the changes that the Treaty brought about were not implemented until December 2009, two policy documents regarding the importance of Fair Trade in public procurement were published by the EC after the Treaty's signing in December 2007, before its implementation, which were important to include in this discourse analysis given they are the first EU policy documents to address Fair Trade in this area. The remaining five EC and EP policy documents regarding Fair Trade since the signing of the Treaty are then analysed in order of date, from oldest to most recent, as listed below in Table 2.

³ As of May 2019.

Table 2: Policy Documents regarding Fair Trade coffee by the EP and EC

Name	Author	Date	Type of Policy Document
Public Procurement for a Better Environment	European Commission	16/07/2008	Communication
Contributing to Sustainable Development: The Role of Fair Trade and Non-Governmental Trade-Related Sustainability Assurance Schemes	European Commission	05/05/2009	Communication
European Parliament resolution of 18 May 2010 on new developments in public procurement (2009/2175(INI))	European Parliament	18/05/2010	Resolution
Buying Social: A Guide to Taking Account of Social Considerations in Public Procurement, October 2010	European Commission	10/2010 (exact date not stated)	Guide
Fair Trade in Public Procurement in the EU	European Parliament	17/07/2012	Library Briefing
Fair Trade and Consumers in the European Union	European Parliament	25/03/2014	Report
Trade for All: Towards a More Responsible Trade and Investment Policy	European Commission	14/10/2015	Strategy

5.1 Public Procurement for a Better Environment, 16th July 2008

Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions (European Commission, 2008)

This communication from the EC aimed to guide the EU toward greater uptake of Green Public Procurement (GPP), thus reducing the environmental impact of consumption within European public authorities. With 16% of EU GDP being spent on goods and services (European Commission, 2008, p. 2) such as beverages, food and catering, public procurement directives can be very influential in increasing the demand for 'green' goods, which have a reduced impact on the environment, such as Fair Trade coffee. This Communication is one of the core policy documents in answering this research's second sub-question: *How have the EC and EP addressed Fair Trade coffee through public procurement?*

The Communication highlighted the lack of a single set of EU GPP criteria at the time, and how this was necessary for the EU to move toward a more sustainable future of consumption. However, the Communication also noted that the EC had set a policy objective in the 2006 renewal of the EU's Sustainable Development Strategy, that by 2010 50% of all public procurement procedures should be compliant with core EU GPP criteria, which were yet to be created.

As a result of this Communication, the EC developed over 20 common GPP criteria, highlighting the importance of fair and ethical products, such as Fair Trade coffee, in the GPP Criteria for Food, Catering Services and Vending Machines; however, Schebesta notes that these GPP criteria are legally non-binding (2018, pp. 317-321) and are still only used within the EU as a guide for Member States. Given the changes to EU organisational and legislative powers in the Treaty of Lisbon, which were implemented in 2009, it is interesting to note that GPP is an area where the EU has still not yet chosen to create a policy. Schebesta highlights the importance of embedding GPP in wider policy initiatives that reinforce the prioritisation of sustainable goods (2018, p. 327). Although this is a policy area which is very complex, this lack of legislative action indicates an opposition to legally enforce GPP from the EP, EC and

the Council, which is quite at odds with the EU's image as a leader in environmental issues. Similarities can be found between this political stagnation regarding GPP, and the stagnation of a potential EU Fair Trade policy.

If the EU were to enforce a GPP legislation based upon the EC's GPP Criteria, such as making the 50% GPP target legally binding, this would provide further support for Fair Trade coffee from within the EU's public authorities themselves, when procuring goods for food and catering services.

5.2 Contributing to Sustainable Development: The Role of Fair Trade and Non-Governmental Trade-Related Sustainability Assurance Schemes, 5th May 2009

Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, The European Economic and Social Committee (European Commission, 2009)

This communication from the EC examined the situation of Fair Trade and other sustainability certifications in the EU, in response to the growing support of Fair Trade by EU consumers, and is perhaps the most important policy document from the EC regarding Fair Trade coffee and in answering this research's fourth sub-question: *To what extent does MPE explain the EC's political discourse regarding Fair Trade coffee thus far?*

The EC highlights in the introduction that Fair Trade has links to several EU policy areas, such as economic and social development, trade, corporate social responsibility and environment and the Communication may be followed by "more targeted initiatives in one or more policy fields" (2009, p. 3). The EC also acknowledges that the growing number of sustainability certifications can be confusing for EU consumers, echoing the arguments of many scholars, as was reflected in this research's literature review in Chapter Two. Evidence of MPE can be found throughout this document, and is discussed below.

A Backseat Role

However, despite this recognition that the Communication may lead to legislative action in order to support and simplify sustainability purchases for EU consumers, the EC goes on to

state that it believes it should not take a role in “ranking or regulating criteria related to private trade-related sustainability” (2009, p. 6) certifications, as this would limit the development of Fair Trade and other sustainability certifications and their standards. Instead, the EC encourages the creation and publication of a Fair Trade Charter (2009, p. 7) in order to increase transparency and clarity around standards and criteria. The EC’s stance, like that taken towards GPP in the Public Procurement for a Better Environment Communication (2008), advocates for a non-legislative approach. This stance can be explained with MPE, as the EC is prioritising the free market by recommending not to interfere with private trade, as opposed to taking political action with a Fair Trade policy or similar, which would align with the values-based approach of NPE. Although the EC highlight that they believe enforcing a Fair Trade policy could limit the development of non-governmental sustainability standards, this soft power approach does not do much to change the support for the Fair Trade coffee industry within the EU.

The EC further recommended independent, rather than governmental, monitoring of private sustainability certifications, to ensure that standards are being met and to allow consumers to make well-informed choices (2009, p. 7). It is interesting to note that they specify sustainability criteria which balances “ecological, economic and social considerations” (2009, p. 7) the three pillars of sustainable development, but make no direct reference here to Fair Trade, despite identifying it throughout the Communication as the most well-rounded sustainability certification. This could be interpreted as the EC not wishing to explicitly recommend Fair Trade, or the pursuit of an EU Fair Trade policy, as it would highlight the EC’s half-hearted approach to Fair Trade thus far, through its market-related priorities, as explained by MPE.

Public Procurement

The Communication also, like the aforementioned Public Procurement Communication (2008) highlights the importance of developing sustainable public procurement practices (2009, p. 8). However, the EC highlights that EU public authorities cannot require specific sustainability certifications, such as FLOCERT’s Fairtrade label, as this limits the access to the contract of products who do not have specific sustainability certifications, but whose product attributes may meet the same standards (2009, p. 9). This identifies a tension within the EU’s

existing policies regarding Fair Trade in public procurement. The EC states that sustainability certifications can play an important role in simplifying consumer purchases (2009, p. 3), yet does not lead by example when it comes to procuring sustainable goods within its public authorities. Public procurement in the food and catering services sector would be an ideal platform for the EU's institutions to take a legislative approach toward promoting Fair Trade coffee. This unwillingness to promote Fair Trade above other products again demonstrates the lack of legislative action undertaken by the EU, in favour of not interfering with the free market. MPE can be used here to explain the EC's stance on withholding a Fair Trade legislation from Public Procurement Criteria. MPE assumes that the EU is first and foremost a single market and thus prioritises economic and social policies which benefit the EU's free market, and avoids those policies which may restrict the market in any way, such as requiring specific sustainability certifications such as Fair Trade/Fairtrade.

EU Support and Conclusions

The EC highlights that despite its soft power approach to Fair Trade, it has given funding to Fair Trade sustainability certifications through the financial support of NGO's (2009, p. 9) and additional credits of €1 million were included specifically for Fair Trade activities in the EU's 2008 and 2009 trade budgets (2009, pp. 10, 17-19). Although this show of financial support is commendable, it again reiterates the EC's MPE approach to Fair Trade through funding Fair Trade activities in the free market, but a reluctance to interfere with that free market. Although the EC states in the Communication that it believes Fair Trade should maintain its non-governmental, private structure, as EU intervention could have a negative effect on the sustainability certification, it does not indicate what these negative effects might be, nor does it explore the possibility that an EU Fair Trade legislation could have positive impacts upon Fair Trade, and more specifically the Fair Trade coffee industry. This reluctance from the EC to explore the potential for an EU Fair Trade coffee policy for fear of interfering with the EU free market, can be again be explained with MPE.

5.3 European Parliament resolution of 18 May 2010 on new developments in public procurement (2009/2175(INI))

Resolution adopted by the European Parliament (2010)

This Resolution from the EP was in response to the growing discourse around social considerations in public procurement. It begins by acknowledging the political discourse which helped to shape it, notably the EC's Communications '*Public Procurement for a Better Environment*' (2008) and '*Contributing to Sustainable Development*' (2009) as well as the Treaty of Lisbon and the changes it brought about to the organisation of power within the EU (Official Journal of the European Union, 2012). There is much discussion about the importance of sustainable development from a values-based position throughout the Resolution, highlighting the NPE values-based approach of the EP. This Resolution was a core policy document in answering research sub-questions 2. *How have the EC and EP addressed Fair Trade coffee through public procurement?* and 3. *To what extent does NPE explain the EP's political discourse regarding Fair Trade coffee thus far?*

General Remarks

The Resolution continues with a General Remarks section and then more specific sub-sections. There is a strong NPE narrative throughout the document, with the EP deploring the lack of advancement in the area of sustainable public procurement. It is notable that the EC receives a lot of the blame for this stagnation, with the EP stating that "the plethora of soft law proposals put forward by the Commission... have given rise to a complicated and confusing set of rules" (2010, p. 3). However, given the acknowledgement by the EP of the Treaty of Lisbon in changing the EU's decision-making process and increasing the role of the EP, raises the question as to whether the EP itself is not also partly responsible for this lack of progress? The EP is quick to defend itself, claiming that it is not kept properly informed by the EC and that it should be involved throughout the process, particularly of the formation of Public Private Partnerships (2010, p. 4). It could be argued that this demonstrates the EP's desire to share the responsibility of increasing sustainable public procurement with the EC, and the EC has not enabled it to do so due to its lack of transparency. However, it is important to bear in mind that this Resolution is a discourse of the EP's perspective only.

From a theoretical perspective, throughout the Resolution many elements of NPE are present in the discourse of the EP, particularly when it highlights the importance of European values in the Resolution's sub-sections, which will be discussed further below. Its emphasis on the EC's interest in Public Private Partnerships demonstrates the EP aligning the actions of the EC with the theoretical framework of MPE, through prioritising its economic interests in working alongside the private financial sector.

Green Procurement

In this section, the EP demonstrates a deep concern for the environmental challenges facing the EU and it "calls on the Commission to explore the possibility of using green public contracts as a tool to promote sustainable development" (2010, p. 8). This again demonstrates NPE in action through the EP's values-based narrative in this Resolution, and the EP's support of further integration of sustainability through certifications like Fair Trade.

Socially Responsible Procurement

This sub-section of the Resolution is the most relevant to this research, as it demonstrates the EP's support of using Fair Trade criteria as a standard in sustainable public procurement. It is made explicit that the EP wants to work towards a common Fair Trade policy in the EU, and again it highlights the inadequacies of the EC in this area, calling on the EC to promote greater use of Fair Trade as a sustainability certification (2010, p. 9). This reinforces the EP as demonstrating NPE in its political discourse, through supporting public procurement which prioritises human rights, social solidarity and sustainable development, three of Manners' norms of European values (2002).

Practical help: database and training courses

As it places blame on the EC for its lack of clarity around integrating sustainability into public procurement, the EP encourages rectifying this issues in numerous ways: 1) the development of sustainability standards which public bodies are able to access; 2) greater importance placed on the role of sustainability certifications in public procurement, such as Fair Trade, as they are thoroughly tested by third parties and can be more cost-effective when verifying that

standards are being met; 3) the EC and Member States must take responsibility for ensuring that sustainable public procurement practices are developed in public bodies, as tight budgets within these bodies are often the reason for this lack of best practice. The EP suggests the best way to do this is through workshops and campaigns which highlight the importance of sustainable public procurement of as many products as possible (2010, pp. 11-12), from a public authority's staffroom coffee supply, to their catering services for large events. These recommendations demonstrate a genuine desire from the EP to turn the political discourse regarding sustainable public procurement and Fair Trade, into concrete political action. This desire is another example of the EP's political discourse regarding Fair Trade which can be explained using NPE's identity of the EU as global leader of norms and values-based policies.

5.4 Buying Social: A Guide to Taking Account of Social Considerations in Public Procurement, October 2010

Guide by the European Commission

This guide was selected for discussion as it followed on from the EC's 2008 Public Procurement for a Better Environment Communication, and is intended to guide EU public authorities in "socially responsible public procurement (SRPP) [which] is about setting an example and influencing the market place" (2010, p. 5). Fair Trade is identified as a key tool for SRPP in the Guide, in particular how switching to Fair Trade products can raise awareness of the social concept itself. The EC gives the example of switching to "sustainably produced/ethical trade coffee in the cafeteria" (2010, p. 16) as a key way to implement SRPP within EU public authorities. The discourse of this guide has elements of both NPE and MPE. NPE can be used to explain the EC's desire to guide EU public authorities in procuring sustainably certified products; however, the fact that this is a guide only and is non-legally binding again demonstrates the EC's market-priorities, in line with the framework of MPE. This policy document was very useful in answering this research's second and fourth sub-questions, as stated above.

The EC highlights, as it did in its 2009 Communication, that although it encourages the public procurement of coffee with sustainability certifications such as Fair Trade, authorities cannot require products to bear specific certifications in their tenders, but can require that products meet certain sustainability certifications and show proof of meeting these standards (2010, pp. 31-32) as this goes against the EU's non-discriminatory free market laws. This clarification came about after the Court of Justice of the European Union were forced to rule against the EC's procurement directive 2004/18/EC in Case C-368/10, more commonly referred to as the North Holland Case, where the Dutch province of North Holland included Fair Trade certified coffee in its procurement tender (European Commission v Kingdom of Netherlands, 2010). Another issue raised by these laws is that the working conditions of a product's manufacturing process, cannot be taken into account as a technical specification. This again identifies the tension between the EU's pro-sustainability and Fair Trade stance, explained by NPE and its lack of sustainability policies in favour of not interfering with the free market, explained by MPE.

Another issue that the EU's non-discriminatory laws raise, is that third party sustainability certifications, such as Fair Trade/Fairtrade, ensure that certain standards are being met. If the EU were to implement a Fair Trade legislation within its public procurement directives, it would very likely encourage coffee companies who do not currently meet common industry sustainability standards - but who wish to gain contracts with EU public authorities who spend 17% of the EU's GDP on public procurement (European Commission, 2010, p. 5) - to work towards meeting those standards. This lack of political action from the EC regarding Fair Trade coffee strengthens the argument of this research that the EC's political discourse in this area is best explained by the market-priorities of the MPE framework.

5.5 Fair Trade in Public Procurement in the EU, 17th July 2012

Library Briefing published by the Library of the European Parliament (2012)

This library briefing describes the integration of Fair Trade into the EU's legal framework for public procurement and the role of the EP in its facilitation. It was included for its direct

approach to addressing the role of the EU in advancing Fair Trade through public procurement, and its important contribution to answering this research's second and third sub-questions. Like in the EC's *Buying Social* guide (2010) Fair Trade is identified as a key tool for developing more sustainable public procurement within the EU. However, unlike the EC's guide which has a distinctly MPE narrative, encouraging further sustainability in public procurement but not at the peril of interfering with the EU's free market, this briefing encourages the uptake of Fair Trade standards in public authorities' procurement procedures (2012, p. 1). The briefing is intended to be used by MEPs and EP staff for parliamentary work, and discloses that it does not necessarily express the views of the EP; however, the discourse of the briefing is very much in line with other publications from the EP itself. The briefing positions the EP as a leader within the EU of revising public procurement law to allow for the inclusion of Fair Trade standards, stating that "the EU legal framework lacks clarity as the European Parliament has repeatedly pointed out... inhibiting expansion of fair trade public procurement" (2012, p. 1). This quote also reflects the ongoing tension between the different political discourses of the EP, which supports the inclusion of a Fair Trade policy in public procurement, and the EC which encourages voluntary inclusion only of Fair Trade products in public procurement.

Evidence of NPE can be found throughout this document. The emphasis of the growing number of EU consumers who wish to contribute to sustainable development through purchasing Fair Trade products (2012, p. 1), directly reflects two of Manners' minor norms, social solidarity and sustainable development (2002). NPE can further be used to explain the paragraph titled 'What is the EP doing?' (2012, p. 4), which states that the EP has continuously supported integrating Fair Trade into the EU's political framework, as this reflects the bottom-up evolution of the Fair Trade movement in the EU, which has largely been consumer-led.

Despite stating that the briefing does not necessarily express the views of the EP, it is very much in line with the political discourse regarding Fair Trade that is disseminated by the EP, which is pro-Fair Trade and positions the EP as the championing EU institution when it comes to promoting Fair Trade values, both internally and externally of the EU. However, the briefing does have a critical element in its assessment of the Fair Trade concept and issues such as the necessity for farmers to be members of cooperatives. This acknowledges some of the market-

related elements of Fair Trade, which can be explained with MPE; however, overall the narrative of this briefing contributes to the EP's pro-Fair Trade political discourse, which is best explained by NPE.

5.6 Fair Trade and Consumers in the European Union, 25th March 2014

Report published by the European Parliamentary Research Service (2014)

This report seeks to define the Fair Trade concept and its relevance in an EU context, in the wake of increasing support of Fair Trade by EU consumers. Like the EP's Library Briefing (2012), the report is intended to be used by MEPs and EP staff for parliamentary work, and discloses that it does not necessarily express the views of the EP (2014, p. 1); however, it is available for public access. What is relevant from this report is what information has been included, and excluded, and is highly useful in building upon the literature regarding EU consumers and Fair Trade, as discussed in Chapter Two's literature review. This Report was also invaluable in answering research sub-question 1: *How have EU consumers demonstrated support for the Fair Trade coffee industry?* as well as the second and third sub-questions.

Overall there is much evidence of NPE in the report's pro-Fair Trade narrative, through highlighting the important role that Fair Trade has played in sustainable development, particularly through the two leading Fair Trade organisations, WFTO and FLOCERT. The report highlights that the EU is the most important region in the world for Fair Trade coffee imports. This acknowledgement of the importance of the EU Fair Trade market can be analysed with NPE, through emphasising the EU as a global leader in prioritising Fair Trade, as well as MPE, through emphasising the importance of the EU market itself in supporting the Fair Trade coffee industry.

The report is well-balanced in that it acknowledges critiques of the Fair Trade concept and possible trade alternatives which may also support sustainable development, such as direct trade (2014, p. 2). It also acknowledges that even though there has been an increasing support of Fair Trade products by EU consumers, not all citizens are likely to support Fair

Trade due to numerous different factors such as a person's social community or their amount of disposal income (2014, p. 2).

When analysing the role of the EU, the report highlights the tension between the political discourses of the EC and the EP (2014, p. 2). Particularly emphasising the EP's continued support for a Fair Trade policy, based on its shared values with the concept. This supports other findings in the EP's political discourse regarding Fair Trade, such as the 2012 Library Briefing, which suggest it is best explained with the NPE theoretical framework.

5.7 Trade for All: Towards a More Responsible Trade and Investment Policy, 14th October 2015

Strategy published by the European Commission

This strategy document set out three pillars for a revised EU trade policy: effectiveness, transparency and EU values. It is the latter which directly relates to the Fair Trade coffee industry. Throughout the document, elements of both NPE and MPE are present; however, as discussed below, the EC's political discourse continues to be dominated by MPE. This document helps to answer this research's fourth sub-question.

In her foreword, EU Trade Commissioner Cecilia Malmström, called for a strengthened EU trade policy which, among other new approaches, ensures that EU values are not compromised by self-interest (European Commission, 2015, p. 5). Malmström emphasises that this values-based approach will use trade to promote sustainable development, human rights and fair and ethical trade (European Commission, 2015, p. 5). Malmström's commitment to the export of both external trade and European values demonstrates an interesting intersection of both NPE and MPE. The emphasis on values is very much in line with NPE, yet the focus on the EU market is best explained with MPE.

The Strategy further highlights that EU consumers have the right to know what they are buying in order to make well-informed decisions (2015, p. 20). It specifies that this is

particularly important for commodities which are produced overseas, where the same level of respect of human rights, labour rights and the environment as in the EU, may not be enjoyed (European Commission, 2015, p. 20). This focus on several of the core norms identified by Manners in his NPE framework (2002) in an EC trade strategy again highlights the intersection of NPE and MPE. The Strategy also underlines that trade agendas must work alongside the instruments of the EU's External Action Service, particularly in developing countries.

Coffee is a key example of this issue, as it is produced almost exclusively in developing countries and imported into the EU. This emphasis on sustainability and transparency for consumers in the Strategy directly correlates with the concept of Fair Trade, and supports the argument for a heightened support of Fair Trade coffee from the EU.

Furthermore, promoting fair and ethical trade schemes is highlighted, due to lack of information available to both EU consumers and producers in developing countries (2015, p. 25). The Strategy makes several commitments to promoting fair and ethical trade, stating that "the Commission will use the existing structure for implementation of FTAs to promote fair trade and other sustainability assurance schemes" (2015, p. 25). However, as no formal or measurable commitment to promoting Fair Trade and other sustainability certifications is made by the EC here, it is again another example of the soft power approach to Fair Trade by the EC. This demonstrates the longstanding piecemeal approach of the EC regarding Fair Trade coffee, prioritising the EU market over creating political change based on values, through an EU Fair Trade policy. Although this document expresses elements of NPE with its acknowledgement of the importance of EU values in trade, the EC's political discourse reading Fair Trade coffee continues to be based around the priorities of the EU market, which is best explained using MPE.

5.8 Conclusion

This policy document analysis demonstrates the two very distinct positions held by the EP and the EC regarding the Fair Trade coffee industry. The values-based discourse of the EP, which

explicitly states support of Fair Trade and an EU Fair Trade coffee policy is best explained using Manners' NPE theory, as it prioritises the values of the EU and positions it as a projector to the rest of the world of its norms. The EC, on the other hand, demonstrates a very market-based approach when it comes to Fair Trade, emphasising that it does not wish to interfere with private sustainability certifications, such as Fairtrade International or the WFTO. This political discourse is best explained with Damro's MPE theoretical framework, which sees the EU first and foremost as an economic power with its common market. These findings will be discussed in more extensively in Chapter Six.

Chapter 6. Discussion

This chapter addresses the findings from this research, and discusses the implications of these findings on the research question: *To what extent does the European Union, represented by the European Commission and the European Parliament, support the Fair Trade coffee industry?* This research analysed the political discourses regarding Fair Trade coffee from the European Parliament (EP) and the European Commission (EC), and how these discourses operate using the theoretical frameworks of Normative Power Europe (NPE) and Market Power Europe (MPE). These findings have been used to create an outline of a potential EU Fair Trade coffee policy.

6.1 Key Findings from Discourse Analysis

This discourse analysis set out to examine the political discourses within two of the most powerful EU institutions, the EP and the EC, through analysing policy documents with the NPE and MPE theoretical frameworks. This research focused on the sustainable development of the coffee industry, through Fair Trade sustainability certifications, awarded by FLOCERT or the WFTO. Fair Trade was chosen over other sustainability certifications, due to its well-rounded approach to all three pillars of sustainable development: environmental, social and economic, its European origins and the increasing support for Fair Trade from EU consumers, since its conception. Coffee was specifically chosen as it plays a central role in the daily lives of many EU citizens and is embedded in European culture, having been enjoyed for centuries by many different European nations; however, as an industry it is also facing major challenges, as coffee beans are grown almost exclusively in developing countries. These challenges include the rising temperatures and sea levels associated with climate change, the fight for fair pay and working conditions for growers, many of whom work on smallholder farms, and ensuring that these growers are able to develop their coffee crops into self-sustaining businesses which produce high-quality yields according to industry best practice. There has been an increasing demonstration of support for Fair Trade certified coffee from EU

consumers in their buying habits and this discourse analysis sought to examine whether this pro-Fair Trade stance has been echoed in a top-down manner, in the political discourses of the EP and the EC.

6.1a A Lack of Fair Trade Policy Documents

The first observation that became evident during this research was the overall lack of policy documents regarding Fair Trade as a concept, from both institutions. Since the signing of the Treaty of Lisbon in December 2007, the EC has produced only four policy documents: two communications, one guide and one strategy, whilst the EP has produced three: one resolution, one library briefing and one research report. These policy documents are all interconnected and were often written in response to the publication of the one prior, such as the EP's '*Resolution of 18 May 2010 on new developments in public procurement (2009/2175(INI))*', which was in response to the EC's Communications '*Public Procurement for a Better Environment*' and '*Contributing to Sustainable Development*'. As discussed in Chapter One, this research only looked at policy documents which mentioned either 'Fairtrade' or the WFTO, so as not to confuse with the term 'fair trade' which is frequently used in EU documents, and merely refers to trade that is done fairly.

Given that this research encompasses only seven policy documents regarding Fair Trade coffee, it was necessary to use a qualitative, rather than quantitative research method. Discourse analysis was an appropriate choice of methodology here as it enabled the author to not only observe the frequency that Fair Trade coffee occurred as a subject matter, but to analyse *how* Fair Trade coffee was discussed as a political discourse. This presented an interesting finding, as despite the low number of policy documents, the discourse of these documents presented some strong opinions regarding Fair Trade coffee, which will be discussed in the next section.

Another finding that became evident was the lack of new policy documents in the last three and a half years. The most recent document was the EC's '*Trade for All*' Strategy, published 14th October 2015. This could perhaps be explained by looking at other phenomena that has occurred in the EU in the last three years, which may have taken priority when it comes to trade concerns. For example, the increased threat of terrorist attacks, the global migrant

crisis, BREXIT and the lingering Eurozone crisis are all potential factors which may have pushed Fair Trade to the EU's periphery of concerns. However, to answer this question would require much further research and is outside the scope of this thesis.

6.1b European Parliament: Key Findings

From the EP's three policy documents regarding Fair Trade, '*The resolution of 18 May 2010 on new developments in public procurement (2009/2175(INI))*', referred to as '*The resolution of 18 May 2010*', '*Fair Trade in Public Procurement in the EU*', and '*Fair Trade and Consumers in the EU*', three distinct thematic findings became evident in this discourse analysis. These themes are 1) *The Placing of Blame on the EC*, 2) *EP Support of an EU Fair Trade Policy* and 3) *Critiques of Fair Trade*.

The Placing of Blame on the EC – In all three documents the EP expresses its dissatisfaction at the EC's unwillingness to progress Fair Trade past a recommendation, to a policy. In the *Resolution of 18 May 2010* the EP claims that the lack of legal clarity when it comes to EU public procurement is down to "the plethora of soft law proposals put forward by the Commission... hav[ing] given rise to a complicated and confusing set of rules" (2010, p. 3), but defends itself saying that the EC did not keep it properly informed throughout the creation of its sustainable public procurement guidelines. This stance is reiterated in *Fair Trade and Public Procurement*, where the EP states that EC's failure to clarify sustainable development grey areas in its public procurement law, is hindering the advancement of procuring Fair Trade products. It highlights that it has relatedly pointed out this flaw to the EC, just like it has "repeatedly called for promotion of fair trade initiatives and a coherent policy on fair trade" (European Parliamentary Research Service, 2014, p. 2) despite the EC's reluctance to take a regulatory role in Fair Trade, which is highlighted in the *Fair Trade and Consumers in the EU*.

EP support of an EU Fair Trade Policy – Throughout its policy documents the EP's overwhelmingly pro-Fair Trade discourse is evident. This support manifests itself in the repeated suggestion of an EU Fair Trade policy. This is mentioned in both an internal EU context, through a Fair Trade public procurement policy in *Fair Trade in Public Procurement in the EU*, as well as in a wider context of an EU Fair Trade policy embedded in the EU's trade agreements, as stated in *Fair Trade and Consumers in the EU*.

Critiques of Fair Trade – However, the EP are also aware of the potential downfalls of promoting Fair Trade as the ideal solution to sustainable development issues, as the concept itself too is not perfect. In addressing some of Fair Trade's issues, such as that farmers must be members of cooperatives to become Fair Trade certified, as discussed in *Fair Trade in Public Procurement in the EU*, or the high costs associated with becoming Fair Trade certified, as discussed in *Fair Trade and Consumers in the EU*, demonstrates that the EP are aware of both the pros and cons of the Fair Trade concept. However, they still recognise Fair Trade as the best way to promote sustainable development of industries such as coffee, however, they also acknowledge alternatives such as Direct Trade, also mentioned in *Fair Trade and Consumers in the EU*.

6.1c European Commission: Key Findings

From the EC's four policy documents regarding Fair Trade, '*Public Procurement for a Better Environment*', '*Contributing to Sustainable Development*', '*Buying Social: A Guide*' and '*Trade for All*', three distinct thematic findings became evident in this discourse analysis. These themes are 1) *The Emphasis on EU consumer support of Fair Trade*, 2) *EC Recognition of Importance of Fair Trade* and 3) *A Lack of Commitment from the EC to take Legislative Action*.

The Emphasis on EU consumer support of Fair Trade – In *Contributing to Sustainable Development* the EC highlights that Fair Trade support in the EU began from a bottom-up approach, through consumers wanting to buy commodities that were produced in a more sustainable way. However, the EC acknowledges that the crowded sustainability certified product space is now a confusing market for the average EU consumer, and the EC could take on a guidance role here. This creates the narrative that it is more the responsibility of EU consumers to actually demonstrate support of Fair Trade through their purchasing behaviour, and it is the role of the EC to merely assist consumers to do so. This narrative is reiterated in *Trade for All*, where the EC highlights that EU consumers want to be better informed about the origins of import products, but due to the confusion about different sustainability certification schemes, the EC should look to better promote Fair Trade schemes within the EU.

EC Recognition of Importance of Fair Trade – Despite the emphasis on EU consumers and their responsibility to support Fair Trade, the EC highlights the importance of the Fair Trade concept repeatedly in its policy documents. This was the main subject of the *Contributing to Sustainable Development* Communication, drawing attention to how Fair Trade is interlined with several EU policy areas, such as economic and social development, trade, corporate social responsibility and environment and the Communication may be followed by “more targeted initiatives in one or more policy fields” (2009, p. 3). In *Buying Social: A Guide*, the EC underlines how Fair Trade certifications are key for socially responsible public procurement, giving the example of switching to Fair Trade coffee in EU public authority cafeterias. The EC also goes on to underline how Fair Trade provides the assurance that imported goods are produced under the same workers’ rights and environmental standards as expected and legally upheld in the EU, and that trade agendas with developing nations should have sustainable development embedded in them. It is interesting to note how the EC has not discussed critiques of the Fair Trade concept in its policy documents, unlike the EP, which perhaps demonstrates that it has not explored the concept at an in-depth level as it has never considered it as a framework for EU legislation.

A Lack of Commitment from the EC to take Legislative Action – However, there is also a discourse of hypocrisy in the EC’s policy documents. Despite its apparent support of Fair Trade and recognition of the concept’s importance in EU consumer sustainability purchases and public procurement, there is a strong narrative of reluctance to take any real political action from the EC. In *Public Procurement for a Better Environment*, the EC highlights the importance of developing Green Public Procurement criteria, yet these criteria were left as a guide only and were not legally binding, or embedded in any EU public procurement policies. Moreover, the EC made its lack of commitment to legally supporting Fair Trade very clear in *Contributing to Sustainable Development*, saying that Fair Trade, as a private sustainability scheme, should remain that way with no political interference. Rather than a Fair Trade policy, the EC advocates for the creation of a Fair Trade Charter; however, this is the only mention in any of their Fair Trade policy documents of such a thing, so it does appear that this idea was never acted upon. In both *Contributing to Sustainable Development* and *Buying Social: A Guide*, the EC is ignorant of the complications regarding embedding Fair Trade into public procurement policies, due to the lack of legal clarity in this area and it further demonstrates its ignorance,

perhaps purposely, when in *Trade for All* it expresses the EC's desire to further promote fair and ethical trade schemes, yet makes no measurable or legal commitment as to how it will do so.

6.1d Public Procurement and Fair Trade

In researching sub-question two of this thesis, '*How have the EC and EP addressed Fair Trade coffee through public procurement?*', it became clear in the discourse analysis that a strong theme in both the EP and the EC's policy documents was integrating Fair Trade into EU public procurement. Four of the policy documents focused solely on public procurement, and it was also a main area of discussion in the EC's *Buying Social: A Guide*. The EP stated support for an EU Fair Trade public procurement policy, demonstrating its desire for legislative action, whilst the EC took a more soft power approach through the creation of the Green Public Procurement (GPP) criteria and its *Buying Social* Guide, both of which are intended to be used as a steering tool, rather than being legally binding. Perhaps to counter this approach, the EC set a goal for 50% of all public procurement procedures by EU public authorities to be compliant with core EU GPP criteria, such as buying Fair Trade coffee, by 2010. However, as there was no legal incentive and the GPP criteria was a lengthy compilation process, this target has never been met. The two opposing approaches towards addressing Fair Trade in public procurement of the EP and the EC will be further addressed in the next sections.

6.2 EP and EC Political Discourses explained using NPE and MPE

In answering this research's third and fourth sub-questions, 3) '*To what extent does Normative Power Europe explain the European Parliament's political discourse regarding Fair Trade coffee thus far?*' and 4) '*To what extent does Market Power Europe explain the European Commission's political discourse regarding Fair Trade coffee thus far?*' The use of the theoretical frameworks of NPE and MPE in this discourse analysis revealed, as was expected, a strong correlation between NPE and the EP, and MPE and the EC. This supports that these two theoretical frameworks were the correct choice for this discourse analysis.

According to Manners' NPE framework (2002), the EU has five core norms⁴, and four minor norms⁵. The WFTO has 10 Principles of Fair Trade which all directly support these nine norms, as discussed in Chapter Three. The Fair Trade concept is an embodiment of those values the EU holds dear and identifies as 'European', and a Fair Trade policy would enable the EU to continue to export its norms to the rest of the world. In the *resolution of 18 May 2010*, the EP highlights the alliance of Fair Trade and European values, such as concern for environmental degradation and socially responsible production. It is made explicit that the EP wants to work towards a common Fair Trade policy in the EU, and again it highlights the inadequacies of the EC in this area, calling on the EC to promote greater use of Fair Trade as a sustainability certification (2010, p. 9). This reinforces the EP as demonstrating NPE in its political discourse, through supporting public procurement which prioritises human rights, social solidarity and sustainable development, three of Manners' norms of European values (2002). Fair Trade is also a largely unlegislated area in developed countries. If the EU were to introduce Fair Trade legislation, it would be a global leader in this area, and again be demonstrating its European values to the rest of the world, in accordance with NPE. This pro-Fair Trade legislation discourse is echoed throughout the EP's other policy documents; *Fair Trade in Public Procurement in the EU* highlights the need for the revision of public procurement law to allow for the inclusion of Fair Trade standards whilst *Fair Trade and Consumers* discusses the potential for an EU Fair Trade policy and the EP's repeated calls for further action to the EC. NPE helps to explain as to why the EP has taken such a pro-legislation stance when it comes to supporting the Fair Trade coffee industry in its policy documents.

In order to explain the EC's rather different political discourse regarding Fair Trade, MPE is used. According to MPE, the liberal EU single market is designed to promote free trade between the EU and external partners, not to prioritise policies with social values such as sustainable development through Fair Trade. This explanation is very useful when explaining the EC's somewhat hypocritical discourse regarding Fair Trade. It acknowledges the importance of the Fair Trade sustainability certifications, but makes no legal commitments to integrate them into with public procurement legislations or embed them into other EU

⁴ Manners' core norms: *peace, liberty, democracy, rule of law and a respect for human rights* (2002, p. 242).

⁵ Manners' minor norms: *social solidarity, anti-discrimination, sustainable development and good governance* (2002, pp. 242-243)

policies such as free trade agreements. In *Contributing to Sustainable Development*, the EC firmly stated that it would not take any regulatory roles in sustainability certifications such as Fair Trade, despite recognising their importance in simplifying choices for EU public authorities and EU consumers alike. This discourse is repeated in *Buying Social: A Guide*, where the EC encourages EU public authorities to make changes such as switching to “sustainably produced/ethical trade coffee in the cafeteria” (2010, p. 16), yet authorities cannot require products to bear specific certifications in their tenders, but can require that products meet certain sustainability certifications and show proof of meeting these standards (2010, pp. 31-32) as this goes against the EU’s non-discriminatory free market laws. This confusing discourse is best explained by MPE, which assumes that the EU is first and foremost a single market and thus prioritises economic and social policies which benefit the EU’s free market (Damro, 2012). Therefore, although the EC acknowledges Fair Trade and the potential positive effect greater promotion of the concept might have, it has not made any formal commitment to do so in case of jeopardising its market and trade policies.

6.2a Piecemeal Support of the Fair Trade Coffee Industry

This research has demonstrated that NPE and MPE political discourses do co-exist within the EU, and can be used to explain the EU’s support of the Fair Trade coffee industry, which has been described as a half-hearted, “piecemeal” (Martens & Orbie, 2018, p. 289) approach. The willingness of the EP and the EC to support the sustainable development of the coffee industry is evident in their respective political discourses, particularly through the emphasis on Fair Trade in EU public procurement. However, the EP has demonstrated greater support for Fair Trade, explicitly stating that it would support an EU Fair Trade policy, whilst emphasising that the EC has been restrictive of progressing such as policy, with its prioritisation of the EU market and reluctance to interfere with the private Fair Trade coffee market.

Whilst this demonstrates the tension between the EP’s NPE perspective, and the EC’s MPE perspective, it also shows that these two frameworks do co-exist in the EU. However, whilst the EU continues to approach the Fair Trade coffee industry without a consistent position or EU Fair Trade policy, it can be argued that MPE is more powerful than NPE in this case. If the EC and the EP were to agree on a common political discourse and legislate an EU Fair Trade coffee policy -- based on the values shared between the EU and Fair Trade, it could be argued

that NPE would become the more dominant theoretical framework when analysing the extent to which the EU supports the Fair Trade coffee industry.

It is evident from the policy document analysis of this research that there is support for the Fair Trade coffee industry from both the EP and the EC. However, despite promising statements of varying levels of commitment throughout these policy documents from both institutions, there is still no conclusive EU Fair Trade policy.

6.3 An Ideal EU Fair Trade Policy?

From this discourse analysis, there are two avenues which have been identified as the best way for the EU to embed Fair Trade into its policies: public procurement and free trade deals. No developed country in the world has a Fair Trade policy. Therefore, in doing so the EU would not only demonstrate its potential as a global leader in sustainable development, but would also create a Fair Trade policy which would be mirrored by other developed countries, such as New Zealand and Australia, who are also looking to further integrate sustainable development into their own laws.

A Fair Trade policy would ensure that EU citizens' desire for simpler sustainable purchases are met. In the EU, 2.6 million tonnes of coffee is consumed annually (European Coffee Federation, 2016, p. 4). With a huge coffee drinking population, and an increasing number of EU consumers wishing to support the Fair Trade coffee industry each year, a Fair Trade policy would affect very high volumes of products imported into the EU, from its inception. Internally the effects of a Fair Trade policy would help to ensure that consumers, and EU public authorities, are able to make informed choices about the coffee they drink and ensure it is produced in a way that supports the three pillars of sustainable development. Externally, a Fair Trade policy from the biggest coffee-drinking market in the world incentivises developing countries to ensure that their coffee industries are sustainably developed in all three areas: economic – ensuring long term, sustainable trading relationships; environmental – if the coffee industry is to continue long-term, some major changes need to be made to

mitigate environmental issues and reduce impact; and social – ensuring workers are paid fairly and work under fair conditions, as set by the WFTO in accordance with the WTO and ILO.

The author proposes that the EU set out to create two Fair Trade policies, one in public procurement and one in its trading agreements. In public procurement, this would be a rather simple matter of making the Green Public Procurement criteria legally binding. Currently there is no incentive for EU public authorities to select more sustainable products in their procurement activities, and as these products are often more expensive and public authorities often have tight budgets, it is little wonder that the GPP criteria have not created much change. There is also ignorance from both the EC and EP around the issues raised in the North Holland case, that authorities cannot require products to bear specific certifications in their tenders, but can require that products meet certain sustainability certifications and show proof of meeting these standards. By aligning with sustainability certifications such as Fair Trade, it saves public authorities time, resources and makes procurement simpler.

It is for these reasons that EU consumers, too, deserve to have Fair Trade addressed through policy. As discussed throughout this research, a Fair Trade certification assures consumers that the product they are purchasing has been produced to meet sustainability standards across all three pillars of sustainable development. The EU has a history of embedding its values as provisions into bilateral agreements, for example the inclusion of international labour conventions in the 2014 EU Generalised System of Preferences (Cuyvers, 2013). If the EU were to include the Fair Trade sustainability standards in its trade agreements with coffee-producing nations such as Papua New Guinea, it would not only assure EU consumers that the coffee they drink each day has been produced to meet social, environmental and economic sustainability standards, but it would encourage these developing nations to ensure the sustainable development of their own coffee industries in the face of increasing environmental threats.

Although long term the EU should look to create Fair Trade policies across all commodity items, coffee is perhaps the most imminent issue given the environmental issues at stake in the coffee industry. It is also the most well-recognised and purchased Fair Trade commodity

and has played an important role in the culture and cuisines of many European countries. A successful EU Fair Trade coffee policy would be a symbolic start to moving towards wider EU Fair Trade and Sustainable Development policies. Would France be the same if its croissants were not accompanied by a café au lait? Or Italy without its espresso bars? How would the Scandinavians get through their dark winters without the hygge-inducing mugs of steaming filter coffee? Coffee is as much a part of European culture as bread, wine or cheese; however, unlike these traditionally local items, bought from corner bakeries or neighbouring vineyards, coffee is a commodity item where the manufacturing process is largely out of the consumer's hands. EU consumers have demonstrated their desire to purchase coffee which has met the same sustainability standards they would expect from their local baker, wine or cheese maker. If the EU were to embed Fair Trade into its public procurement policies, and free trade agreements, this would undoubtedly contribute to the sustainable development of the coffee industry.

6.4 Conclusions

This research set out to assess the extent to which the EU supports the sustainable development of the global coffee industry, through Fair Trade. This research was guided by the main research question: *To what extent does the European Union, represented by the European Commission and the European Parliament, support the Fair Trade coffee industry?*

As highlighted above, this research concerns Fair Trade coffee only. Although the Fair Trade concept and the standards which are certified by FLOCERT and the WFTO should be prioritised across all commodities, it is most important for coffee because of the grave environmental issues in the industry (Kokako Organic Coffee, 2018) (Kolk, 2013) (Oxfam New Zealand, 2017) (Watts, 2016), as highlighted in Chapters One and Two. An EU Fair Trade coffee policy would also be the most symbolic Fair Trade item to prioritise, not only because it is the most purchased Fair Trade commodity (Oxfam New Zealand, 2017), but also for the important role that coffee plays in European culture. If successful, an EU Fair Trade coffee policy would pave the way for other Fair Trade commodities which come from developing countries and whose

industries also carry great environmental concerns, such as cocoa, bananas or sugar. These commodities could one day also be included in a broader EU Fair Trade policy.

In order to explore the answers to this research's main question thoroughly, a further four sub-questions were developed:

1. How have EU consumers demonstrated support for the Fair Trade coffee industry?

There has been growing support for Fair Trade in the EU, since the concept's inception in Western Europe, during the late twentieth century. Despite the lack of a common EU political position on Fair Trade coffee, EU consumers have increasingly demonstrated their support through purchasing Fair Trade certified coffee, becoming the world's largest consumers of Fair Trade coffee (European Coffee Federation, 2016). Research has demonstrated that EU consumers value a Fair Trade certification – from either FLOCERT or WFTO – over other sustainability certifications such as Rainforest Alliance (Akaichi, et al., 2016) (Sepúlveda, et al., 2016). Furthermore, EU consumers are willing to pay more for coffee that bears a Fair Trade certification (European Parliamentary Research Service, 2014, p. 2); due to the increasing number of unregulated sustainability certifications in the coffee sector, Fair Trade represents a well-known and trusted set of standards for EU consumers, allowing them to make easier choices when purchasing sustainable goods.

2. How have the European Commission and European Parliament addressed Fair Trade coffee through public procurement?

The EC and the EP have addressed Fair Trade coffee through five key policy documents, as discussed in Chapter Five's analysis and displayed in Table 3. In these documents, it is recognised that there needs to be a shift toward the procurement of more sustainable products in EU public authorities, or 'Green Public Procurement' (GPP), given the high proportion of spending in this area – 16% of the EU's GDP. However, despite the recommendation of a set of GPP criteria for all EU public authorities, such as switching to Fair Trade certified coffee in canteens, no such criteria have been created.

Table 3: Public Procurement in EC and EP Policy Documents

Name	Author	Date	Type of Policy Document
Public Procurement for a Better Environment	European Commission	16/07/2008	Communication
Contributing to Sustainable Development: The Role of Fair Trade and Non-Governmental Trade-Related Sustainability Assurance Schemes	European Commission	05/05/2009	Communication
European Parliament resolution of 18 May 2010 on new developments in public procurement (2009/2175(INI))	European Parliament	18/05/2010	Resolution
Buying Social: A Guide to Taking Account of Social Considerations in Public Procurement, October 2010	European Commission	10/2010 (exact date not stated)	Guide
Fair Trade in Public Procurement in the EU	European Parliament	17/07/2012	Library Briefing

Furthermore, the EC highlighted that EU public authorities cannot require specific sustainability certifications, such as FLOCERT's Fairtrade label, as this would limit the access to the contract of products who do not have specific sustainability certifications, but whose product attributes may meet the same standards. This is very much contrasted by the EP's stance, who recommend creating a legally binding set of GPP criteria and ensuring that the EU takes full responsibility in furthering sustainable public procurement throughout its institutions, particularly in the food and catering sector.

Overall, the narrative from the five policy documents which address Fair Trade coffee echo the same political discourses of the EP and the EC regarding the Fair Trade coffee industry. The EC advocates for a non-binding set of GPP criteria which does not include specific sustainability certifications, such as Fair Trade. On the other hand, the EP has identified that the current EU political framework inhibits the progression of Fair Trade coffee in EU public procurement, and voices its support of an EU Fair Trade policy, both in public procurement

and in wider trading terms. This tension between the two institutions means that little progression has been made since the publishing of these policy documents in reaching a conclusive EU position on Fair Trade in public procurement.

3. To what extent does Normative Power Europe explain the European Parliament's political discourse regarding Fair Trade coffee thus far?

The EP's political discourse regarding Fair Trade coffee is based upon the expression of EU values and projecting those values to the rest of the world, as identified by Manners in his NPE theoretical framework (2002). In the EP's policy documents analysed in Chapter Five's discourse analysis, NPE is evident throughout. From the EP's pro-Fair Trade stance and acknowledgement of the role of the EU in prioritising Fair Trade, to its placing of blame on the EC for the lack of progression in this area, the EP is explicit in its support of an EU Fair Trade policy. The EP is also explicit in its policy documents regarding Fair Trade coffee, in identifying discordance between its own values-based perspective, and the market-based priorities of the EC.

Furthermore, NPE explains the EP's support of a concept which has many points of convergence with Manner's core and minor norms (2002). As discussed in Chapter Three, there is much crossover between the values of the Fair Trade concept, as identified by the World Fair Trade Organisation's 10 Principles of Fair Trade (2018), and Manner's nine norms of NPE, such as respect for human rights and the environment through sustainable development. The author argues that through supporting an EU Fair Trade coffee policy, the EP is able to express its NPE political discourse in regard to the coffee industry.

4. To what extent does Market Power Europe explain the European Commission's political discourse regarding Fair Trade coffee thus far?

The EC's political discourse regarding Fair Trade coffee is based upon the prioritisation of the EU market, as identified by Damro in his MPE theoretical framework (2012). MPE is highly evident throughout the EC's policy documents through its acknowledgement of the importance of Fair Trade in the sustainable development of the coffee industry, yet refusal to interfere with the private sustainability standard. The EC has demonstrated financial support of Fair Trade and Fair Trade initiatives within the EU, and while this is commendable, it

reiterates the EC's MPE approach to Fair Trade through funding Fair Trade activities in the free market, but a reluctance to interfere with that free market. The EC's preference for a non-legislative approach greatly prevents furthering the support of the Fair Trade coffee industry in the EU and will continue to be a roadblock in the creation of an EU Fair Trade policy.

This research has demonstrated that the EU has recognised the great importance of Fair Trade in the sustainable development of the coffee industry. An EU Fair Trade coffee policy would be instrumental in ensuring that coffee farmers in developing countries are paid a fair wage and employ sustainable farming practices, as well as changing the way that citizens of developed countries, both internally and externally of the EU, consume this everyday commodity. The EU has demonstrated that it has progressive ideas regarding how it can enhance its support of Fair Trade, such as an EU Fair Trade coffee policy; however, little has been done to implement them.

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